

# The American Historical Review

VOL. XXXVI NO. 4

JULY, 1931

ISSUED QUARTERLY

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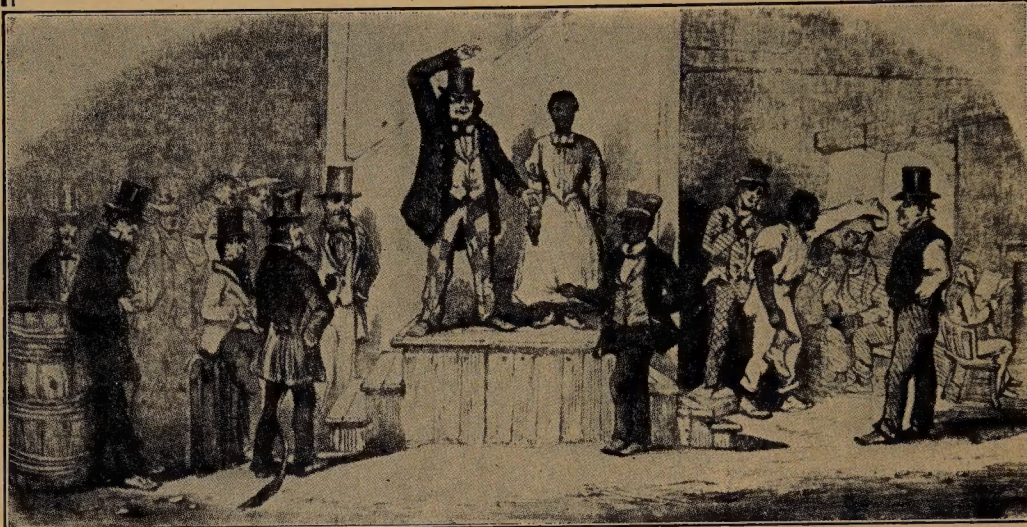
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# The American Historical Review

## THE DIPLOMACY OF THE LOUISIANA CESSION<sup>1</sup>

IT has long been the custom of writers of American history to refer to Louisiana, at the time of its transfer by France to Spain, as a colonial "white elephant". It has been equally conventional to describe the cession of this province as a compensation for the loss of Florida by Spain in the peace preliminaries of 1762. A more complete survey of the materials bearing upon this important episode casts some doubt on the validity of these conclusions, adds two years to the story, and brings to light new facts. An attempt at restatement seems, therefore, to be justified.<sup>2</sup>

From the days immediately preceding the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, France used every lure and blandishment at her disposal to secure the support of Spain in the impending maritime war against England. Ferdinand VI. and his ministers refused to be turned from their cherished policy of peace. This monarch's death on August 10, 1759, brought his half brother, the king of Naples, to the Spanish throne as Charles III. Charles saw the safety of

<sup>1</sup> The manuscript materials used in the preparation of this article were secured by the writer while serving as Fellow of the Social Science Research Council, and are included in a larger group of documents which form the basis of a forthcoming volume on *The Rôle of America in French-Spanish Diplomacy, 1759-1779*.

<sup>2</sup> W. R. Shepherd's admirable article, *The Cession of Louisiana to Spain* (*Political Science Quarterly*, XIX. 439-458), has been a standard authority on the subject of the Louisiana transfer since its appearance in 1904. He is the only American writer on the subject to make extensive use of the Spanish archives, but relied entirely on French secondary accounts and ignored the British peace papers. In the interval since he wrote many new publications in the field have made contributions to the problem. Some of these works are: Louis Blart, *Les Rapports de la France et l'Espagne après le Pacte de Famille*; Alfred Bourguet, *Le Duc de Choiseul et l'Alliance Espagnole*, and *Études sur la Politique Étrangère du Duc de Choiseul*; Sir Julian S. Corbett, *England in the Seven Years' War*; Kate Hotblack, *The Peace of Paris, 1763*, in Royal Historical Society, *Transactions*, series 3, vol. II., pp. 233-267, and *Chatham's Colonial Policy*; François Rousseau, *Règne de Charles III. d'Espagne*; F. P. Renaut, *Le Pacte de Famille et l'Amérique*; Roger H. Soltau, *The Duke de Choiseul*.



Spain's colonial empire threatened by the complete destruction of French naval and colonial power at the hands of England and, from the outset, spoke encouragingly of Spanish aid to France. His promises, however, failed to take definite shape until the signing of the Family Compact in 1761. In the interim His Catholic Majesty exasperated the French minister, Choiseul, by futile peace overtures in London and by memorials addressed to England that seemed designed rather to win concessions from that court as the price of continued Spanish neutrality than to promote the success of France in her duel with Pitt's great war machine.

Louisiana began to play a rôle in these negotiations for Spanish aid in the diplomatic dispatches of the Bourbon powers, in 1754, on the eve of the outbreak of the Seven Years' War.<sup>3</sup> Minorca was the prize held out to Spain for military assistance up to 1760 and Louisiana was merely pointed out as a menace to the safety of Mexico if it were captured by England.<sup>4</sup> That Spain had any desire to possess Louisiana, aside from an old claim never officially renounced, or valued it above some of her own possessions, was not realized. In 1760 the trading value of this colony was brought home to the French government in dramatic fashion. Charles III., in a private discussion with the French ambassador, the Marquis d'Ossun, concerning a Spanish order barring French vessels en route to Louisiana from the harbor of Havana, suddenly broached the subject. During the course of the conversation he had made the significant remark, "I believe, as you do, that we are natural and necessary allies; our states adjoin each other in the two continents and we have the same enemies to fear". This seemed to be an isolated, even if interesting, observation, when, near the end of the audience, he abruptly stated his ambition to acquire the province. "I must arrange with France after the peace for Louisiana by means of some exchange." The Marquis d'Ossun, startled and somewhat at a loss, replied that perhaps the Spanish part of Santo Domingo would be a good equivalent but added that this was a personal view as he lacked instructions and had no information as to the relative importance of the two possessions. The king of Spain confessed a similar lack of knowledge and ended the interview with the

<sup>3</sup> Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, legajo 1709, packet 4521, Duras to Wall, Oct. 26, 1754, and other letters warn Spain that if Canada falls, the *Chemin du Mexique* through Louisiana will be opened to the British. (This repository will be referred to hereafter as Simancas, with the legajo and packet numbers following.)

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1710, 4527, Masones de Lima to Wall, Mar. 12, 1756; 1713, 4535, Wall to Masones de Lima, June 9, 1758, and supporting papers in this legajo.



remark, "Nevertheless, sir, I believe I know enough to state that the transaction indicated would be advantageous to France".<sup>5</sup>

This suggestion came at the difficult time before the death of the peace-loving queen of Spain, when it seemed, despite the many assurances of Charles III., that Spain was merely using France to gain her own ends and had no sincere intention of helping that power. The idea, for this reason, met with an immediate and curt refusal. In fact, Choiseul could find little in the proposal save another attempt to take advantage of French weakness coming, as it did, on the heels of a definite refusal of a loan of 12,000,000 piasters to France, and a vigorous Spanish claim to the neutral West Indian islands, St. Vincent, Tobago, Dominica, and St. Lucia, which had been regarded as French. He voiced his suspicions and questioned Spain's good faith in a letter to D'Ossun. The conduct of Spain, in his estimation, under the guise of friendship for France and enmity toward England, had in reality for its object the satisfaction of her own political ambitions. Spain's extravagant claim to the right to fish off the Newfoundland Banks, her bid for the neutral islands, he declared, all confirmed this opinion and now, as a climax, "the Catholic King himself has made the first approach to you on his desire to obtain Louisiana by an exchange with us".<sup>6</sup>

This pessimistic view of the intentions of the neighbor kingdom was short-lived. The queen's adverse influence was removed by death, Charles reported his first active step against the English whom he said had been driven from Campeche by force, and better still, statements of Spanish military and naval preparations were more reassuring. Furthermore, every evidence pointed to a firm reply from Pitt to the latest Spanish demands presented in London by De Fuentes, which would leave the Spanish monarch with little excuse for longer delay. At the same time, Choiseul heard of the total loss of Canada. Either Spanish aid must be secured or France would be obliged to seek the best possible peace terms from England immediately. Choiseul preferred, if feasible, to try the test of arms again in an effort to wrest more advantageous terms from his adversary and to this end he plunged whole-heartedly into a diplomatic campaign for Spanish support. No time was wasted. The opening gun was fired with the presentation of Louis XV.'s note of condolence to Charles III. on the death of his queen, October 17, 1760. D'Ossun took full advantage of this splendid opportunity

<sup>5</sup> Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Correspondance Politique, Espagne, D'Ossun to Choiseul, July 4, 1760.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Choiseul to D'Ossun, July 15; D'Ossun to Choiseul, Apr. 21, 24; Choiseul to D'Ossun, Aug. 19.

and played all the stops in a veritable anthem of appeal for the union of the two crowns.<sup>7</sup>

In the subsequent conversations, chiefly by use of the threat of a separate French peace, Charles was manoeuvred into the definite statement that he was favorably disposed toward a system of union with France, and finally, into asking that drafts of the proposed treaties of union be submitted to him.<sup>8</sup> With this step taken the long negotiation of the Family Compact was definitely under way. In the exchange of views which ensued Spain constantly recurred to the question of the boundaries of Louisiana, which had never been definitely marked out, because Spain had refused to abandon her claim to the area. This question had been a source of worry and annoyance in the past and was regarded as sufficiently important by the Spaniards to warrant inclusion in the proposed treaties. Indeed, the history of Franco-Spanish relations in this region had been far from tranquil since the days of La Salle, and constitutes another "Half Century of Conflict" that was only to terminate with the cession to Spain and consequent removal of Spanish fear of French overland extension into Texas and New Mexico.<sup>9</sup> New Orleans and Mobile were, in addition, ports from which French clandestine trade could sail to Mexico and the Caribbean colonies of Spain and, in case of war, raiders from these harbors could easily intercept Spanish commerce. Hence, Charles III. was most solicitous that the eastern boundary of the province be drawn sufficiently to the north to prevent the even more dangerous English nation from acquiring these gulf ports in case she retained Canada in the peace.<sup>10</sup> In return for recognition of French rights in Louisiana, Spain wanted the treaties of union to include a clear settlement of the Louisiana boundaries.<sup>11</sup> Counterprojects of cession of Louisiana

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, D'Ossun to Choiseul, Sept. 15, Dec. 29; Bibliothèque Nationale, Salle des MSS., Espagne, 10,764, Beliard to De Berryer, Oct. 13, Dec. 8; Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., Espagne, Choiseul to D'Ossun, Oct. 13; D'Ossun to Choiseul, Oct. 17.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, D'Ossun to Choiseul, Jan. 12, 1761; Choiseul to D'Ossun, Feb. 17.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. H. E. Bolton, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*; W. E. Dunn, *Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702*.

<sup>10</sup> Choiseul, early in the year, had warned of this danger. He wrote to D'Ossun: "La Louisiane, depuis que nous avons perdu le Canada, n'est plus une barrière pour le Nouveau Mexique, et il ne faut qu'un port dans le Golphe de cette dernière province pour mettre les Anglois en état d'intercepter toute communication entre les différents pays de la domination Espagnole en Amérique." Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., Espagne, Choiseul to D'Ossun, Jan. 27, 1761. Choiseul's argument was to be used against him in 1762 when he endeavored to persuade Spain that eastern Louisiana in English possession would be quite harmless.

<sup>11</sup> The Spanish minister, Ricardo Wall, urged this course with great persistence. In reply to D'Ossun's argument that the matter had better be postponed until after



in return for a money loan or for an immediate declaration of war against England prevented the inclusion of this article in the treaties of union, signed on August 15, 1761.

These counterprojects, initiated before the Family Compact was signed, were kept alive well into the autumn of 1761, when it appeared that Spain would drift into the war at her own time and that no further considerable money aid could be expected. It was then that Choiseul conceived other uses for the province.<sup>12</sup> Three separate sets of negotiations were conducted simultaneously in Paris and Madrid, and in each, Louisiana was the prize proffered in return for favors. Through D'Ossun in Madrid Choiseul sought two things in separate negotiations: first, an early entry of Spain into the war; second, a large loan to finance the continuance of the French military effort. The third negotiation was carried on directly between Choiseul and the Spanish minister, Grimaldi, in Paris and constituted a third offer of Louisiana with the same object in view, namely, an immediate Spanish declaration of war. All were conditioned on the successful completion of the Bourbon alliance, then in its final stages of preparation, and looked beyond it to the period of coöperation between the two powers in bringing the war to a successful conclusion.<sup>13</sup> In order to avoid confusion the Madrid and Paris *démarches* will be treated separately and, since Louisiana occupied the center of the stage throughout, the account of their progress will be given in some detail.

If the alliance of France and Spain were to be successful, financial assistance as well as military aid was vital. Naturally, in this connection, Choiseul thought of Spain's earlier expression of a desire to acquire Louisiana. With the secret convention and the Family Compact practically ready to receive signature, Spain would be in a propitious mood to listen to overtures. Louisiana was something coveted by Spain which France still possessed. The cession of Louisiana might induce Spain to grant one or both of the French

the peace, he said "... qu'on pourroit au moins insérer dans le traité que Sa Majesté Catholique cède à la France tous les droits qu'elle peut avoir sur la Louisiane à condition qu'il sera procédé, dans un terme indiqué et par des commissaires respectifs, au réglemant des limites de cette colonie". *Ibid.*, D'Ossun to Choiseul, July 16, 1761.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Choiseul to D'Ossun, Dec. 15. By this time he contemplated a transfer of the French population of Canada to Louisiana after the peace. He had already made provision for the possibility in a *mémoire* to England in September, in which he stipulated that in yielding Canada an eighteen month period for sale and emigration should be provided. Cf. Simancas, 1716, 4545, *Mémoire de France sur la Réponse d'Angleterre*.

<sup>13</sup> The rôle of Louisiana in the story of the conclusion and first months of the existence of the Family Compact has been ignored by writers on the subject.

demands—a considerable loan and an advancement of the date of her entry into the conflict, which had been fixed in the draft of the convention at the disappointingly late date of May 1, 1762.<sup>14</sup> So Louisiana had to serve as the *quid pro quo* of two requests as France had little else to offer. Accordingly, on July 30, 1761, two weeks before the alliance was cemented, Choiseul empowered D'Ossun to offer the colony to Spain in exchange for a prompt Spanish declaration of war against England. "We ask Spain to declare herself earlier rather than later", he wrote, "and, at the moment of her declaration we shall give her Minorca, in accordance with the convention, and we shall propose an arrangement relative to Louisiana." The following day, as there was no time to await results from this first overture, he began a second negotiation in Madrid by authorizing the ambassador to offer the cession of Louisiana to the Spanish minister of finance, Squillace, in return for a large loan to France. D'Ossun was strictly enjoined, in his instructions, to inform no other Spanish minister of the offer as Choiseul wished to keep this second negotiation under cover until Spain reached a decision on the first offer.<sup>15</sup> In Paris, a day later, he injected the same proposals into the conversations on war, peace, and the alliance then under way with the Spanish minister Grimaldi, and on September 13 was still offering a Louisiana "cession with widest boundaries" in return for prompt entry of Spain into the war.<sup>16</sup> By these measures Choiseul, always a facile opportunist, undoubtedly hoped to take advantage of Wall's request for an inclusion of a boundary settlement for Louisiana in the treaties of alliance, and by the cession of Louisiana to solve the pressing questions of finance and war aid.

<sup>14</sup> In the previous year, before Charles had proposed the Louisiana exchange, the influence of Queen Amelia had frustrated two French efforts to secure a loan. Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., Espagne, D'Ossun to Choiseul, Feb. 27, Apr. 21, 1760. Subsequently, France had received secret aid from Spain in the form of a special privilege to export a specified sum of Spanish specie through the banking house of M. de la Borde of Bayonne. M. de la Borde, as court banker, used this specie to bolster French paper issues. The amount of specie thus exported had been fixed at 150,000 piasters a month and the privilege had been renewable annually. Squillace, the Spanish minister of finance, had extended this favor through the *Real Giro* (Royal Exchange). When the negotiations for the Family Compact were opened, Feb. 10, 1761, he, on assurance of complete secrecy, had increased the monthly amount to 600,000 piasters. *Ibid.*, Choiseul to D'Ossun, Feb. 10, 1761; D'Ossun to Choiseul, Feb. 27. In addition, extraordinary facilities had been accorded France in the colonies such as permission to enter the port of Havana, and, soon after the accession of Charles, New Orleans had been provisioned from Campeche with supplies purchased with Spanish money. Simancas, 1713, 4536, Memorial; Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., Espagne, D'Ossun to Choiseul, Jan. 8, 1760.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Choiseul to D'Ossun, July 30, 31, 1761.

<sup>16</sup> Simancas, 1716, 4544, notes of Choiseul enclosed with (dispatch no. 3) Grimaldi to Wall, Aug. 1, 2.



Despite these energetic and well-timed proposals of Choiseul the happy moment of the signing of the pact and the convention, August 15, 1761, passed without the insertion of an article ceding Louisiana to Spain and consequently without the concomitant advancement of the date of Spain's intervention in the war. The fate of the loan was likewise deferred until after the safe conclusion of the alliance. Louisiana then became the sacrifice which might secure these ends, beyond the terms of the signed and sealed articles of alliance.

In Madrid, the Marquis d'Ossun made no progress against Spain's professed inability to wage war before the date agreed on in the convention. The even more important matter of financial aid gave rise to a long negotiation which caused him an infinite amount of trouble and anxiety before he was able to write *finis*. On the receipt of his instructions he took it on himself to postpone any approach to Squillace as he feared a premature step might jeopardize the success of the alliance between the two powers. He reasoned that it was unwise to expose the desperate state of the French treasury to her prospective ally until the union was consummated and, even then, he anticipated a rebuff in view of the sum asked, the long credit, and the onerous terms accorded Spain. Furthermore, he averred that Charles III., on the eve of waging war himself, would not care to see so much money drawn from his reserves. But his instructions were positive. Therefore, after a brief delay, fearful that he was exceeding his powers, he agreed to make the request, using the Louisiana offer to render it more attractive to Spain. Apparently, begging for money was distasteful to the ambassador and accounted both for his delay and his sudden desire to conclude the unpleasant task as rapidly as possible. He wrote, August 17, 1761, that the full amount, 3,600,000 piasters, with which it was proposed to finance the war in 1762 and 1763—a period regarded as long enough to ruin English credit—had been requested of Squillace. D'Ossun put the case in the best possible light, dwelling on the great resources of France, her exactitude in meeting her obligations, the security of the king's word, and the relative insignificance of the sum required when compared with the assets of his country. Above all, he stressed the temporary nature of French financial stringency as due primarily to the hoarding and draining off of gold and silver during the war. The money would be used to sustain currency circulation and to stiffen French credit. When he perceived that Squillace was still unimpressed, he adroitly insinuated that France was also willing to cede Louisiana as a token of

appreciation. Squillace then showed some signs of interest, but he was firm in the opinion that nothing could be done until the silver fleet arrived from America and the treaties of union assumed stability. D'Ossun left the interview with some hope for the success of his enterprise.<sup>17</sup>

Choiseul, still glowing with the success of his policy of union with Spain, wrote to D'Ossun in high good humor, August 25, 1761, that he need delay no longer as both pact and convention were signed. But he insisted with utmost force that the loan must be secured.

It is [he emphasized] of extreme importance that our propositions on this subject succeed. You seem to be of the opinion that the signature of our treaties would facilitate their success. Therefore, sir, the king expects through your zeal, your talents, and the confidence you have so justly acquired at the Court of Spain, that you will succeed in securing a realization of the necessity that we procure this assistance. The use we desire to make of it has for object the common advantage of the two crowns in maintaining their glory and interest. Moreover, the service we expect from the relationship, friendship, and alliance that so intimately unite His Majesty to His Catholic Majesty, is not gratuitous and I have already confided to you what the king is disposed to do for Spain in addition to the exact reimbursement of the sum advanced to us. You can not, sir, at the present moment render a more essential service to the finances, and consequently to the political and military operations of His Majesty, than to conduct the negotiation, with which you have been entrusted under this head, to a successful conclusion.<sup>18</sup>

But one success worked against another. As Spain moved nearer to war the possibility of drawing on her treasury diminished. Squillace, aware of this, refused to consider the French loan until the silver fleet arrived. In desperation, D'Ossun asked for half the amount of the original request and reduced the term of the loan to one year, but Squillace was adamant. The silver fleet, object of so much concern (Pitt fell from power in England at this time partly because his desire to intercept it involved an immediate break with Spain), arrived safely in home waters on September 12, 1761. The French ambassador determined to take advantage of the joyful event and ask Charles III. for 1,800,000 piasters. But the most that he secured was a loan of 900,000, payable in six installments in the first half of 1762 and to be repaid in similar installments in the last half of the year at an interest rate of five per cent. The home government, which had been making D'Ossun's path difficult by its simultaneous effort to push the king of Spain into war at an early date, was so well pleased with this result that it granted the ambassador a grati-

<sup>17</sup> Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., Espagne, D'Ossun to Choiseul, Aug. 17.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, Choiseul to D'Ossun, Aug. 25.



fication and suggested only minor changes in the stipulations of the loan contract. But, in view of Spain's professed inability to hasten her entry into the war, and as the loan from Spain was much smaller than asked, Louisiana was not ceded. All hope of additional monetary aid from Spain was to vanish entirely by March of the following year when Spain, taxed to the limit of her ability in waging her own war with England, had no money to lend.<sup>19</sup>

In the meantime, at Paris, Choiseul had been negotiating independently with Grimaldi. Louisiana was an important counter in these *pourparlers* as well, first, in 1761, as a reward for early entry into the war, next, as a possible nucleus about which to rebuild the French colonial empire, and lastly, in 1762, when new and final peace negotiations were opened, as a bribe to secure Spanish consent to an early peace. In order to understand fully these changing purposes one must go back to June, 1761, and follow Choiseul's policy as the vicissitudes of the war and the possibilities of peace forced alterations in his course. That month found Choiseul in the midst of the discussion of pact and convention which were to unite the two Bourbon powers, and with the De Bussy-Stanley peace conferences under way, looking toward a separate peace with England. In their progress it soon developed that England was not in a generous mood and would not consider the German conquests of France as an equivalent for the return of Canada. This alarmed Grimaldi, who kept his court constantly informed as to the proposed boundaries between Canada and Louisiana.<sup>20</sup> Nor was Choiseul's attitude particularly reassuring. That wily diplomat was still playing a desperate game that necessitated a nice balance between war and peace. On one hand, he wished "to keep up the negotiation with England in such a situation that if it did not succeed this time it would serve as a base for the genuine negotiation which must take place if Pitt fell before the influence of Bute"; on the other, he planned to tie Spain to France so that that crown would support him in the peace or, if that failed, in the war. A successful war would recoup French losses, while defeat would be less costly since "the losses of Spain would lighten those which France might suffer".<sup>21</sup>

At first Choiseul was far from eager for peace and, in the face of what Grimaldi regarded as reasonable and even liberal terms, spoiled

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, D'Ossun to Choiseul, Sept. 7, 13, 17, 21, 28, Oct. 3, 13, Mar. 15, 1762.

<sup>20</sup> Simancas, 1715, 4543, De Bussy to Choiseul, June 11, 1761. De Bussy saw little hope of regaining Canada and thought ". . . que les limites de la Louisiane, qui n'est pas entamée, pourront se régler par les eaux pendantes sur les côtes de chacune". Pitt, however, refused to consider the Ohio country as other than English.

<sup>21</sup> Corbett, II. 185.

any chance of their success by joining the French counterproposals for peace with the Spanish grievances against England. To do this Choiseul had to override strong opposition in the French council, which was clamoring for peace. In addition, Spain was willing to present her case separately rather than have France lose the peace. It was a bold move that Choiseul made to win Spanish confidence, yet little calculated to secure peace from Pitt!<sup>22</sup>

Choiseul's policy was successful. By combining the French and Spanish negotiations in London he convinced Charles III. of French sincerity but drew from the wrathful Pitt a haughty ultimatum. This humiliating document Choiseul used to whip the recalcitrant French council into line<sup>23</sup> and, with characteristic energy, turned to Spain for military and financial aid to sustain a new campaign, made necessary by what he termed England's unreasonable attitude toward the union of their cases. The notes of his decisive memorial on Pitt's ultimatum, which elicited applause when read to the king's council on August 1, 1761, and practically assured the continuation of the war, indicate a full return to his belligerent attitude of 1759. After roundly condemning the individual items of the English offer as being "in content and form more laws dictated by a conqueror than articles of negotiation between equal powers", he turned to Louis XV. and declared:

My opinion, Sire, is not to accept the proposals of England, but, to make a soft answer to gain time, which answer I will submit to your council Sunday; to send Spain England's reply . . . to propose to the king of Spain that he take Minorca in deposit as we can use the troops stationed there and relieve ourselves of that expense; to ask the king of Spain if he wishes to buy Louisiana, and, if the purchase pleases him, to make a banking arrangement with him to this end, which will be necessary to provide funds for the next and the succeeding campaigns.<sup>24</sup>

Choiseul realized that to fight successfully allies must have a preconcerted plan of unified action. He therefore sought to secure agreement upon a common scheme for a general offensive, involving a descent on England, and tried to persuade Spain to break with London in the autumn of 1761. He believed that this move would hamper the English Parliament in raising funds and that it might cause the fall from office of his redoubtable adversary Pitt. A

<sup>22</sup> Simancas, 1715, 4543, Grimaldi to De Fuentes, July 1, 7, 1761. The union of the French and Spanish cases also spoiled any chance of keeping the union of the two nations a secret from Pitt.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 1716, 4544, Aug. 1. England's demands were regarded as "insolent and extraordinary" by the most timid ministers and Grimaldi informed his government, "ya es positiva aqui la continuacion de la guerra, si no mudan las proposiciones de la Inglaterra, como ya es casi evidente que no sucedera".

<sup>24</sup> *Supra*, note 16.



sudden and well-timed entry would also surprise Portugal and force her to alliance or certain defeat. His plan included a Spanish occupation of Minorca and the dispatch of the French troops from there to Santo Domingo on Spanish ships before war was declared, on the pretext of conveying them to France. He feared an English conquest of Florida and Louisiana and offered to supply troops for the defense of the latter colony if Spain would provide transportation and supplies. The colony could then become Spanish or French as the two powers found most convenient. If all this were done, in his estimation, one brief campaign would suffice to bring England to her knees and Spain could strike off the chains of commercial slavery to that power by revoking all past commercial treaties.

The offer of Louisiana to Spain was repeated in September when France, convinced of the futility of the existing peace negotiations with England, nevertheless continued them in order to cover her ally's military unreadiness. Choiseul assured Grimaldi that his concessions to England's pretensions to an enlarged Canada were not serious, as Louisiana remained larger than they could possibly cultivate or populate, and that in any case his original offer of "cession with widest boundaries", in return for prompt entry of Spain into the war, still held good. Wall, writing on September 23, 1761, was pleased with this generous attitude, and said that France and Spain were now so united that the former could not, without an open breach of faith, sign a peace unless the latter received satisfaction. But he was unprepared to send a Spanish garrison to Minorca, or to send an ultimatum to Portugal or, in brief, to enter the war as yet. Even Spanish eagerness to acquire Minorca failed to stimulate that power to attempt to provision the island.<sup>25</sup> This lack of enterprise was not due to a lack of willingness but to very real deficiencies in the Spanish military establishment.

Choiseul, it is clear, had used Louisiana to the fullest extent in the foregoing negotiations, and had fallen short of his aims. He now, under the provocation of a *mémoire* on the colony furnished by D'Ossun, developed a high regard for Louisiana. It suddenly became the nucleus about which France would rebuild her colonial empire in America after the peace. Fired with enthusiasm, he wrote to the ambassador on December 15:

It is certain that this colony merits a closer attention than has been accorded it up to the present. I am informed as to its fertility, and the mildness and healthfulness of the climate, and when circumstances permit, I shall neglect none of the advantages that a colony so useful can pro-

<sup>25</sup> Simancas, 1716, 4545, Grimaldi to Wall, Sept. 13, 1761; Wall to Grimaldi, Sept. 23, Oct. 12; 1717, 4547, French "office", Dec. 25.

duce. We have already thought of emigration from Canada to Louisiana, but this emigration can not take place until after the peace. You will appreciate all the reasons political and economic for this. You are informed that we intend to send aid to Louisiana. It is ready to leave and will be there certainly in the month of January.<sup>26</sup>

England's declaration of war on Spain, January 2, 1762, ended all discussion of Louisiana as a "war bribe" or reward for a loan. Spain was in the war and her own expenditures absorbed all her funds. But it was a hopelessly ineffective Spain from which no great victories could be expected to justify Choiseul's last desperate gamble to secure a better peace from Albion. He soon perceived the hopelessness of fighting on, especially after the fall of Pitt from power, and with Bute's government as well as the young George III. anxious for peace. It was a situation that might be commuted into an advantage for France if it were written into a treaty of peace without loss of time. The return of Pitt to power in England would mean the inexorable exaction of the full penalty of defeat. With his usual foresight Choiseul prepared for the contingency. Through the intermediary of the Sardinian ambassadors, Count Viri in London, and the Bailli de Solar in Paris, he had, in anticipation, established an undercover negotiation with Lord Egremont representing England.<sup>27</sup> By April, 1762, these secret *pour-parlers* had reached the point where direct negotiation could be begun. Spanish consent had been gained in the meantime by adroit and seemingly frank methods. As early as January 10, 1762, after the conversations had been going on a month, and one day before Spain declared war on England, Choiseul intimated to Grimaldi that he had received vague hints of England's anxiety to make peace but that

. . . he had replied to all these indirect hints that France could now, neither hear nor enter into the slightest discussion without the concurrence of His Catholic Majesty, that he was persuaded that the two monarchs had no desire to perpetuate the war, but in case England found herself disposed to end it in a reasonable manner, he did not believe she should work for it by indirect methods, emissaries, or even words. England ought to make her propositions clearly to both courts, as France had when she thought peace was necessary.<sup>28</sup>

The release of the Count d'Estaing, held a prisoner by the British, furnished a good pretext for bringing the negotiation into the light of day. A letter from Lord Egremont to the French government, dated February 28, 1762, concerning the return of this

<sup>26</sup> Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., Espagne, Choiseul to D'Ossun, Dec. 15.

<sup>27</sup> Corbett, II. 286.

<sup>28</sup> Simancas, 1717, 4549, Grimaldi to Wall, Jan. 11, 1762.



prisoner, enabled Choiseul to direct Spanish attention to these peace overtures as something new. Soon British peace proposals arrived in Paris in the dispatch bags of Count de Viri to the Bailli de Solar. Notes of these, submitted to Spain, forced her to countenance the opening of negotiations. This consent was not given, however, until France agreed to inform Vienna and to secure that court's agreement to a separate peace between France and England. It was one thing to get Charles III. to agree to consider preliminaries of peace, quite another to get him to sign them. Charles had barely entered the conflict and, unable to realize that the chance for a victorious invasion of Portugal had passed, he felt that the military successes of Spain might bring him the glory of ending the long war. He could then dictate the terms of its triumphant conclusion. In Spain the negotiation was regarded askance as the pernicious result of Sardinian meddling and, as such, a development which must be delayed as circumstances permitted. In so far as the immediate proposal of England was concerned, Spain was primarily interested in preventing any shrinkage of the boundaries of Louisiana and in seeing that a neutral zone be placed between it and Canada.<sup>29</sup>

But the high hopes of Spain were doomed to disappointment. Choiseul, with an acceptable peace in sight, now used every artifice to get that power's consent to the close of hostilities, as he had done previously in urging Spain's entry into the war. Spanish participation had not swung the balance in favor of the Bourbon house. At any moment the war party might return to power in England and the changing fortunes of the Continental war against Prussia were not such as to encourage continued fighting. In particular, the withdrawal of Russia from an active part in the war on May 5, 1762, definitely ended all hope of subduing Prussia, and Austria was added to the nations desiring peace. Choiseul, worthy successor of the great ministers of state who for two centuries had directed French foreign policy, albeit in office at a disastrous hour, saw the implications of this event and could not quickly enough initiate a peace conference with England. Even the assassination of the Czar Peter failed to restore the situation or entirely to recall Russia from her "indecent attitude". Faced with irremediable Russian disaffection, Choiseul instructed his ambassador in Spain to urge Charles III. to agree to an immediate peace for the sake of France, as the situation was hopeless and England's present peace terms were reasonable. Charles, in his reply, stated that for him the war had just begun and that he expected to conquer Portugal. Nevertheless.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, Dictámen de Su Magestad; Reflexiones sobre el Dictámen de Su Magestad; Wall to Grimaldi, Apr. 23, 1762; Grimaldi to Wall, Apr. 18.

for the sake of his ally, he would consent to an immediate formal peace negotiation.<sup>30</sup>

This direct peace negotiation between France, Spain, and England brought Louisiana into prominence again.<sup>31</sup> Choiseul was willing to lose Canada in order to regain the sugar islands, Martinique and Guadeloupe, if he could also retain the right to fish off Newfoundland and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence with proper *abri*. In addition, he was willing to sacrifice Louisiana east of the Mississippi if he could retain the island of St. Lucia, which would secure the defense of the sugar islands and provide a windward fleet base in the West Indies.<sup>32</sup> With characteristic facility he evolved a new colonial policy to meet the new situation. Making a virtue of necessity, he rationalized the loss of the continental colonies of France into a positive benefit.

I do not think, as formerly held here [he wrote], that it is good to have many colonies. I am the sworn enemy of the American system of colonies for France because I believe it to be pernicious for France, and esteem it to be more essential to cultivate grain and vines in this kingdom and to support its manufactures than to export sugar, coffee, and indigo. But, at the same time, as coffee, sugar, and indigo, are necessary in France, I believe that a great power ought not to let money flow out of its realm for these commodities which have become necessities; rather, one of the elements essential to the welfare of such a state lies in the possession of sufficient American territory to take care of needs of this sort, but not in having more territory than necessary for these needs.<sup>33</sup>

As Choiseul now considered Martinique and Guadeloupe necessary to France, Bute proposed a formula for their return, giving Britain compensation by extending Canada to include eastern Louisiana to the Mississippi River.<sup>34</sup> Accord was reached on all save one point, the island of St. Lucia. Choiseul would not yield here and said he

<sup>30</sup> *Id.*, Feb. 1, 18, Mar. 1; Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., Espagne, Choiseul to D'Ossun, May 17, 29; D'Ossun to Choiseul, May 31.

<sup>31</sup> Professor Shepherd's discussion introduces Louisiana for the first time at this point.

<sup>32</sup> *Infra*, note 36; cf. Corbett, II. 339-343, for a statement of the value of St. Lucia. Cf. also G. L. Beer, *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765*, ch. VIII., and F. W. Pitman, *The Development of the British West Indies, 1700-1763*, ch. XIV., for the story of the influence of the West India sugar interests on the return of Martinique and Guadeloupe.

<sup>33</sup> Shelburne MSS., vol. IX., W. L. Clements Library, Choiseul to Solar, May 28, 1762.

<sup>34</sup> Bute proposed that instead of restoring Martinique in return for the cession of Guadeloupe or Louisiana "... the restoring [to the French] both Martinique and Guadeloupe, with Marygalante, we retaining the neutral islands and the Grenada, and that to prevent all further disputes, the Mississippi should be the boundary between the two nations ...". Bute to Bedford, May 1, 1762, *Correspondence of John, Fourth Duke of Bedford*, Lord John Russell, ed., III. 76.



preferred to continue the war rather than lose the island.<sup>35</sup> To secure it he sacrificed Spain's interest, for he had to yield eastern Louisiana with the Mississippi boundary, which would give England territory on the Gulf of Mexico. Spain had agreed to the peace negotiation with the distinct understanding that this concession would not be made. Choiseul felt certain that Spain would object to the arrangement, but nevertheless accepted the English offer without informing his ally. He believed that too vehement Spanish opposition could be quieted by an exchange of Spanish Florida for the balance of Louisiana and was prepared to propose this transaction when news of the loss of Havana was to make necessary an entirely new propitiatory offer.<sup>36</sup> England accepted these terms with one addition, the right to free navigation of the main channel of the Mississippi River. Choiseul ran the boundary along the river through what he termed its eastern mouth by way of the Iberville River and lakes Pontchartrain and Maurepas to the Gulf, but the English were dubious as to the navigability of this outlet.<sup>37</sup> By this clever stroke Choiseul gained the island of New Orleans, which he was able to represent to Spain later as an unexpected diplomatic triumph.

Spain proved to be quite difficult to lead to a French peace. Choiseul was even forced to request the English plenipotentiary, Bedford, to conceal the French cession of eastern Louisiana from the

<sup>35</sup> "Il ne nous est possible de céder Ste. Lucie . . . je crois que sans Ste. Lucie, la France n'aura pas de possessions de première nécessité qui lui sont indispensable en Amérique." Shelburne MSS., vol. IX., Choiseul to Solar, May 27, 1762. So important was the point that Solar wrote, "Si les réponses que nous attendons sont favorables surtout à l'égard de l'isle de Ste. Lucie, je regarde la paix comme faite". *Ibid.*, vol. X., Solar to Viri, June 14. England's awareness of the importance attached to this island is indicated when Egremont wrote, "Ste. Lucie, est, on dit, si nécessaire à la France que le vaste pais de St. Dominique et la martinique, et la guadaloupe ne suffisent pas sans elle". *Ibid.*, Mémoire with letter of Viri, June 26.

<sup>36</sup> "Jamais nous n'aurions consenti l'année passée à la cession de la Mobille et à l'arrêté des limites de la Louisianne tel que nous l'offrons; c'est presque céder la Louisianne entière qui d'après ces limites n' a plus de communication avec la Floride; nous sentons le prix de cette cession, qui entraîne la perte de notre colonie, mais nous sentons en même tems qu'il faut que nous la perdions; l'Espagne fera peut-être des difficultés sur cet article à cause de sa colonie de la Floride; mais nous lui ferons entendre raison; et si elle manque de l'humeur; nous lui proposerons d'échanger la Floride, dont j'ignore ce que nous pourrons faire, avec ce qui nous restera de la Louisianne." *Ibid.*, vol. IX., Choiseul to Solar, May 28.

<sup>37</sup> This extraordinary bit of *chicane* is often overlooked. Choiseul had the effrontery, after granting the Mississippi as a boundary, to declare that he meant the easternmost mouth, or the above unnavigable waterway. Egremont, while accepting it as a boundary, insisted on free navigation by the main channel to the sea. *Ibid.*, Mémoire, with Viri to Solar, June 26; Egremont to Bedford, Sept. 7.

Spanish plenipotentiary, Grimaldi. Bedford wrote home: "I find they are much embarrassed with regard to that court, and very apprehensive of M. Grimaldi being informed of the note they had sent about the Mobile and the navigation they have offered us, through the River Iberville and the lakes, into the Gulf of Mexico, I told them that the navigation as offered by them, was not sufficiently satisfactory to us, and would equally give umbrage to the Spaniards, as *that* we expect to have in common with them." Grimaldi he pictured as an arrogant fool, who at the bare mention of the possibility of the English on the Gulf had "*monté sur ses grands chevaux*", and who, despite *carte blanche* given the king of France by his cousin of Spain, might break off the negotiation unless, as Choiseul suggested, both France and England humored him.<sup>38</sup>

As a matter of solid fact, Grimaldi had the firm backing of his court in his objection. As early as June 18, 1762, he had rejected the idea that the cession of Mobile to England would not harm Spanish interests.<sup>39</sup> Promised by France that England could never navigate from the little tongue of land that the Iberville River boundary gave them, he yielded on that point but not without misgivings.<sup>40</sup> The home government sought to avoid even this concession, and, in its determination to bar the English from the Gulf, dug up the old and outworn claims of Spain both to Louisiana and Georgia. In return for Spanish recognition of these colonies as legitimate settlements, it was proposed that the South Carolina boundary be extended westward to the Mississippi as the line between the French and English possessions, keeping the area south of the line to the Gulf as a neutral zone. It had required a personal letter from Louis XV. to Charles III. begging for peace, to secure on August 25, 1762, the necessary powers for Grimaldi.<sup>41</sup> But while yielding to this extent, Spain refused to recognize what Choiseul had already offered England, namely, possession of the shore of the Gulf of Mexico between Florida and the island of New Orleans. France became so impatient at this obstinacy that she offered to cede or evacuate all of Louisiana if Spain would come to a decision

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, Bedford to Egremont, Sept. 12.

<sup>39</sup> Simancas, 1718, 4551, Grimaldi to Wall, June 28; Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., Espagne, Choiseul to D'Ossun, June 29.

<sup>40</sup> "Que esta cession la querian absolutamente los Ingleses segun lo havian explicado tambien de palabra al conde de Viry; que les valia á ellos Sta. Lucia que les era muy importante, que de no concederla les faltaria la paz . . ." Simancas, 1718, 4551, Grimaldi to Wall, July 13. This boundary was not approved by Wall until Sept. 5. *Ibid.*, Wall to Grimaldi, Sept. 5.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, Minuta; Louis XV. to Charles III., Aug. 9; Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., Espagne, D'Ossun to Choiseul, Aug. 2.



and not force her ally to miss the proffered peace.<sup>42</sup> At the same time Choiseul offered England a new article, at least new to Spain, granting to England the Mississippi boundary with free navigation of the river, but, apparently to propitiate Spain, reserving New Orleans to France. As he had already conceded this to England without consulting Spain, and as Great Britain had already agreed to the exclusion of New Orleans from eastern Louisiana, provided the right to navigate the main river were accorded in case the Iberville channel proved unnavigable, Choiseul's double dealing is evident. This concession, on the surface wrung from a reluctant England, naturally failed to satisfy Grimaldi. So Choiseul put the treaty article before the Spanish government. War and peace hinged on Spain's acceptance, he said. Which did the Spanish government want? <sup>43</sup>

Before Spain's reply of September 29, 1762, was received, positive news of the capitulation of Havana changed the entire complexion of the negotiation.<sup>44</sup> It had been thought that this key position in the West Indies was impregnable and rumors of English success had been scoffed at by Spanish officialdom. England could now demand better terms and the elation which swept the nation made it difficult for the English peace party to avoid a continuation of the war. Spain, stung by this loss, wished to fight on.

At this juncture France came forward with a definite offer to cede Louisiana to Spain. Louis XV. again wrote a personal letter to his cousin in which he deplored the loss of Havana and offered Louisiana to Spain so that his ally would lose nothing in the peace. Louisiana could be used, he explained, to exchange for the restitution of Havana or kept to offset the loss of other Spanish territory which the English might demand for the return of that port.<sup>45</sup> Choiseul instructed the French ambassador, in an accompanying letter, to play up the value of Louisiana as a sacrifice worthy of French

<sup>42</sup> Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., Espagne, Choiseul to D'Ossun, Sept. 20.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> Rumors of the capitulation of Havana arrived in Paris on August 27, but were not believed. Throughout September the accuracy of the report was questioned in Paris. In Spain the fatal news was not confirmed until Grimaldi forwarded a report sent him from London, on October 3. Simancas, 1718, 4551, Grimaldi to Wall, Oct. 3.

<sup>45</sup> Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., Espagne, Louis XV. to Charles III., Oct. 9. This letter constitutes the "diplomatic overture" that Shepherd found to be lacking (*op. cit.*, p. 449). Bedford explained to his court that the delay in signing the preliminaries was due to the fact that Grimaldi's plenary powers of August 25 and September 29 did not permit him to sign away territory without special orders from his government. Shelburne MSS., vol. XII., Bedford to Egremont, Oct. 11.

gratitude to Spain for her aid in the war and, by inference, her assent to an immediate peace.<sup>46</sup>

A decision was soon reached. Spain regarded Florida as the least valuable of her possessions and its loss as decidedly less harmful than English acquisition of Louisiana with its danger of smuggling into Mexico and its threat of an overland advance by the English into that treasure house of overseas Spain.<sup>47</sup> Grimaldi was ordered to sign the preliminaries of peace on October 23, 1762, and, at the same time, to accept Louisiana as a just recompense for Spanish aid in the war.<sup>48</sup>

On the morning of November 3, 1762, Choiseul, Grimaldi, and Bedford signed the preliminaries of peace. All agreed that the terms were harsh but that further resistance was futile. On the same day, fulfilling his earlier promise, Louis XV. signed the document ceding Louisiana, west of the new British boundary, to Spain. The cession was accepted by Grimaldi subject to the approval of his court.<sup>49</sup> Choiseul on the same day instructed D'Ossun anew to stress the importance of the gift and ordered the commercial *chargé*, the Abbé Beliard, to initiate propaganda among the Spanish merchants with a view of magnifying the generosity of France.<sup>50</sup>

News of the gift was received by Charles III. on the evening of November 10, 1762, as he came in from hunting. At first he said that he could not accept such a sacrifice. But, after some persuasion "against his own wishes and solely to defer to the desires of the King his cousin", and because of the good effect it would have on the Spanish nation, he agreed to accept. The formal acceptance by Charles III. took place three days later, when he signed the act of cession in the presence of the French ambassador. The king's attitude thoroughly justified Choiseul's *beau geste*. Charles, quite moved, cried: "I say, no, no, my cousin is losing altogether too

<sup>46</sup> Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., Espagne, Choiseul to D'Ossun, Oct. 14.

<sup>47</sup> Simancas, 1718, 4551, Minuta of Wall.

<sup>48</sup> Grimaldi's powers of August 25 conferred the right to sign a treaty that excluded the English from the Gulf of Mexico. Grimaldi in the first meetings with Bedford refused to sign preliminaries which included the presence of the English on the Gulf as "an innovation". The home government approved his stand but, pressed hard by France, extended his powers on September 29, and authorized him to sign after holding off as long as possible. The additional cession required by England for the return of Havana necessitated a new reference to the home government. Wall's letter of October 23, ordered Grimaldi to sign and to accept Louisiana as Spain's just due. Simancas, 1719, 4552, Wall to Grimaldi. Oct. 23.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, Louis XV. to Charles III., Nov. 3. Grimaldi wrote to his home government that he had kept France in suspense up to the last minute with the fear that Spain would prefer to go on with the war. *Ibid.*, Grimaldi to Wall, Nov. 3.

<sup>50</sup> Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., Espagne, Choiseul to D'Ossun, Nov. 3.



much; I do not want him to lose anything in addition for my sake, and would to heaven I could do yet more for him.”<sup>51</sup> D'Ossun reported that both the peace and the cession pleased the Spaniards but that above all they were delighted with the “. . . unasked cession of Louisiana and New Orleans; this *démarche*, dictated by a dexterous policy, will justify to the Spanish nation the part taken by His Catholic Majesty in coming to the aid of France”.<sup>52</sup>

Grimaldi, filled with the idea that he had signed a bad peace but had kept a good union, went to Versailles on November 21, 1762, and thanked Louis XV. in the name of his king for the cession and explained that monarch's motives in accepting. On the following day Louis XV. confirmed his deed of gift, and Charles, when this preliminary formality was accomplished, promptly wrote a personal letter of thanks couched in polite terms of reluctant assent to such a great sacrifice. Almost immediately France laid plans for releasing Louisiana to Spain, and French officials and information were placed freely at the disposal of her ally.<sup>53</sup> But Spain moved slowly, and 1764 found her still preparing to occupy the colony. Governor Antonio de Ulloa finally took possession in March, 1766, but because of revolt in 1768, Spanish authority was not definitely established until Alejandro Oreilly overawed the local elements of resistance in 1769. This was a full year after the two powers had originally planned to open their war of retaliation against England.

A study of the intricate diplomacy consummated with the success of Oreilly's military mission leads to certain conclusions concerning this important transfer of American territory. That Louisiana had not paid dividends to France is quite clear,<sup>54</sup> but that it was regarded as worse than valueless by both France and Spain is not substantiated by the record. France rejected Spanish efforts to acquire the colony in 1760 and only the desperate financial and military fortunes of the war drove Choiseul to the final step of cession. To justify its loss to France he had to treat it as a burden of which it was fortunate to be rid. At the same time, to impress Spain with the sincerity of French adhesion to the Family Compact, he was forced to magnify the importance of Louisiana. A superficial view seems to justify regarding Louisiana as simply a compensation for the loss of Florida. In reality, the cession was a peace bribe proffered by France in

<sup>51</sup> Simancas, 1719, 4552, Wall to Grimaldi, Nov. 13, quoted in Shepherd, *op. cit.*, p. 451.

<sup>52</sup> Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., Espagne, D'Ossun to Choiseul, Nov. 15.

<sup>53</sup> Simancas, 1719, 4552, Grimaldi to Wall, Nov. 24; Charles III. to Louis XV., Dec. 2. M. de Vilement entered Spanish service, and numerous Frenchmen, including former Governor Kéléric drew up memorials for Spanish use.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Shepherd, *op. cit.*, pp. 439, 452.

order to win the consent of the king of Spain to an immediate signing of preliminaries of a peace that promised all that France could hope for under the circumstances. The little island of St. Lucia was the pivotal point of the peace. To secure it Choiseul was willing to give up Louisiana east of the Mississippi despite solemn promises to Spain that Canada would not be allowed to extend to the Gulf of Mexico; without it he was willing to continue the war. Louisiana was viewed as not too great a price to pay for the return of the sugar islands, St. Lucia, and the continuance of a close alliance between the two Bourbon courts. The cession was given all the appearance of an impulsive, generous, even quixotic gesture, but it was a calculated move of selfish national policy, carefully staged by a statesman intent on deriving every ounce of advantage for his own country.

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## CONNECTICUT TAXATION AND PARLIAMENTARY AID PRECEDING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

THERE is no denying the validity of the traditional point of view that the chief cause of the growing opposition of the colonials to the imperial administration during the decade preceding the outbreak of the Revolutionary War arose through plans of taxation and fears of these plans. Speaking of the situation in 1764, Professor Channing, in his *History of the United States*, says, "The Americans felt that they were already overburdened with taxations".<sup>1</sup> "This Colony", complained Jared Ingersoll of Connecticut in 1765, "is Eighty Thousand Pounds in Debt, Arrears of Taxes, that cannot be collected, by Reason of the Poverty of those on whom they are laid."<sup>2</sup> Without seeking to generalize regarding the financial history of the American colonies, it is the purpose of this paper to examine the nature of the burdens that the colony of Connecticut was obliged to carry in the 'sixties and 'seventies as the result of extraordinary efforts put forth in the course of the Seven Years' War. That struggle, as is well known, not only added enormously to the public debt of Great Britain but placed on the shoulders of Englishmen almost unprecedented burdens in providing funds for the equipment of their own naval and military forces, the subsidizing of the armies of Prussia and the colonial forces in America during the war, and in maintaining the public credit at the conclusion of hostilities.

The war had its immediate origin, so far as the English speaking people are concerned, in the Ohio Valley region and was begun by colonials. For over a century they had sought to be relieved of the pressure of the French and their Indian allies and the constant menace to the frontier settlements. Without doubt, they had more at stake than any other portion of the empire so far as the success or failure of the war in America was concerned. Nevertheless, the government of Great Britain, first under the guidance of Newcastle and later under the masterful Pitt, determined, in the face of reverses, to whet the zeal of the plantations in this decisive struggle in North America by offering to furnish ammunition, tents, and subsistence to the troops raised by the colonies.<sup>3</sup> Pitt later went so

<sup>1</sup> Edward Channing, *A History of the United States*, III. 32.

<sup>2</sup> *Mr. Ingersoll's Letters relating to the Stamp-Act* (New Haven, 1766), p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> In 1746, during the preceding war, the General Assembly of Connecticut voted that the governor be desired with the advice of the Committee of War to take

far as to agree not only to provide arms, in addition to the above, but to recommend strongly to Parliament appropriations for the clothing and pay of the colonial line.<sup>4</sup> The colonies responded to this policy with the result that by 1759 New Hampshire had in the field 1000 men; Massachusetts, 6500; Rhode Island, 1000; Connecticut, 5000; New York, 2680; New Jersey, 1000; Pennsylvania, 3000; and Virginia, 1200—according to information furnished by General Amherst, upon the basis of which parliamentary grants were made for that year.<sup>5</sup> In the eyes of the men of that period, the fitting out of these troops and their maintenance in the field was a matter of no slight expense. According to a report of the Board of Trade made in 1765 the colonies during the war together spent £2,515,038, of which £760,435 remained unpaid at the time of the report. Of this sum, Connecticut is credited with having expended £259,000 sterling.<sup>6</sup>

From the year 1755, when military preparations were begun, to 1761, the year of the cessation of hostilities in America, Connecticut, in order to meet her extraordinary expenses, issued some £264,500 in bills of credit bearing interest at the rate of five per cent. and running for periods of from two to four years which, with interest charges that amounted to £62,700, obligated the colony to the extent of £327,200; further, from 1761 to 1765 she issued £82,000 in bills of credit carrying interest charges of £18,650. Thus the sum total of these issues with interest amounted to £427,850.<sup>7</sup> To arrange for the calling in of these bills of credit upon maturity the General Assembly up to March, 1764, provided for the raising of £400,000 in taxes. The amounts varied from a two penny tax granted in 1755, to be collected in August, 1756, for raising £5000, to two measures for obtaining from His Majesty's paymaster-general wages due to the officers and soldiers raised for the Canadian expedition. In the following year the governor was directed to make proper drafts on this officer for the commissary's expenses for clothing and arms. Although Hollister, in his *History of Connecticut* (I. 409), when referring to the colony's petition for reimbursement on account of the Cape Breton expedition says, "Her prayer was disregarded, and she submitted to the loss in silence", the money was after some delay paid to the colonial agent, Dr. Benjamin Avery, and was duly transmitted by bills of exchange as was the reimbursement for the expenses in the proposed expedition of 1746. *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, C. J. Hoadley, ed., X. 493, 537, 546.

<sup>4</sup> For these letters, see E. B. O'Callaghan, *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, VII. 216, 340, 351.

<sup>5</sup> C. O. 323: 19. Other colonies, of course, rendered services and in 1757 Parliament appropriated the sum of £50,000 as compensation to Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina for services.

<sup>6</sup> C. O. 323: 19. *Conn. Col. Rec.*, XI. 101. To keep her soldiers in the field, Connecticut paid them at the rate of £1 16s. per month, counting twenty-eight days to the month. *Ibid.*, XI. 94.

<sup>7</sup> The following are the issues with interest charges. These are in terms of lawful money, or in relation to sterling as six is to four and one-half:



levies voted in March, 1760, amounting to £75,000, part of which was to be collected in December, 1761, and the remainder in December, 1764. The last levy connected with the war finances, a one and three-fourths penny tax to raise £8750, was voted in 1764, to be collected December, 1767.<sup>8</sup>

These figures, expressed in terms of "lawful money", indicate a formidable increase in the taxation of the people of Connecticut, for the ordinary annual expenses of the colonial establishment, according to Governor Trumbull in 1774, were only about £4000 sterling—excluding the schools. A penny tax would produce £5000 in the 'sixties; in 1756 Governor Fitch gave the revenue of the colony by direct taxation, which was practically the only revenue the govern-

<sup>7</sup> (cont'd)

Sum £	Date of Issue	Date Payable	Interest £
7,500	Jan., 1755	May, 1758	1,250
30,000	Aug., 1755	Aug., 1760	7,500
12,000	Oct., 1755	Apr., 1760	2,700
30,000	Mar., 1758	May, 1762	6,250
20,000	Feb., 1759	May, 1763	4,250
40,000	Mar., 1759	Mar., 1764	10,000
10,000	May, 1759	May, 1763	2,000
70,000	Mar., 1760	Mar., 1765	17,500
45,000	Mar., 1761	Mar., 1766	11,250
65,000	Mar., 1762	Mar., 1767	16,250
10,000	May, 1763	May, 1765	1,000
7,000	Mar., 1764	Mar., 1768	1,400
346,500			81,350

Connecticut Archives, MSS., Finance and Currency, 1764-1774, V. 5. *Conn. Col. Rec.*, XII. 339.

<sup>8</sup> The following statement of "Funds Appropriated" was drawn up by a committee appointed by the General Assembly in 1764.

Tax d.	Date for levying	Amount to be raised £
2	Aug., 1757	5,000
3 and 4	Aug., 1759 and Apr., 1760	35,000
3	Aug., 1759	15,000
8	Dec., 1761	40,000
5	Dec., 1762	25,000
10	Dec., 1763	50,000
2½	Dec., 1762	6,250
6 and 9	Dec., 1761 and Dec., 1764	75,000
5 and 7	Dec., 1763 and Dec., 1765	60,000
6 and 8	Dec., 1764 and Dec., 1766	70,000
2	Dec., 1764	10,000
1¾	Dec., 1767	8,750

Conn. Arch., Finance and Currency, V. 5. The reader should bear in mind that these sums represent the amounts of the levies and not the amounts actually collected, as will be made clear in the course of this paper.

ment had, to be £4000 sterling.<sup>9</sup> In other words, the annual penny tax under ordinary circumstances sufficed to meet the needs of government,<sup>10</sup> while for the year 1763 taxation amounting to fifteen pence "on the pound on polls and rateable estate" was provided for by the legislature in a levy of ten pence granted in March, 1760, and one of five pence in March, 1761. For the year 1764 three levies fell due, of nine pence, granted in March, 1760, six pence in March, 1762, and two pence in May, 1763.

In the light of the necessities of the government and its consequent great demands upon the people it might be thought that the finances of the colony would have become demoralized as they were in the course of King George's War and later during the crisis of the Revolution. It is, therefore, surprising to discover that Connecticut was able by the end of 1763, the year that witnessed the Peace of Paris, not only to discharge all but £82,000 of the total of £346,500 in bills of credit issued from 1755 to that date,<sup>11</sup> but, in addition, to meet her other extraordinary war charges which, together with the above necessitated taxes amounting to £410,932 7s. 2½d. in terms of lawful money for this same period, according to the treasury records of the colony,<sup>12</sup> and which by the end of 1765

<sup>9</sup> *Conn. Col. Rec.*, X. 624, XIV. 500. For the distinction between sterling and lawful money, see note by C. M. Andrews, *Current Lawful Money of New England*, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXIV. 73-77; see also *Jared Ingersoll Papers*, F. B. Dexter, ed., p. 223, note.

<sup>10</sup> Ingersoll said that £4000 equaled the "penny rate". *Ingersoll's Letters*, p. 49, note \*.

<sup>11</sup> C. O. 323: 19.

<sup>12</sup> See the Account Book of Joseph Talcott, Treasurer, MS., Connecticut State Library. The following figures taken from this and compiled give concisely a view of Connecticut taxation from 1755 to 1765, which, of course, includes those rates laid for the purpose of calling in at maturity the bills of credit as well as those laid to meet the various other contingencies of the war-time government:

Date of Tax Levy	Rate on the Pound	Amount Raised		
		£	s.	d.
1755	4	22,325	4	1
1756	5	29,567	17	9¼
1757	8	47,666	15	7¼
1757	1	8,935	2	¼
1758	12½	78,895	6	7
1759	13	77,082	11	6½
1760	10	59,494	19	3
1761	10	61,043	—	10½
1762	5.3	35,921	9	3
1763	6	38,244	9	11¼
1764	8	50,895	5	1½
1765	1	6,401	9	3
Total		516,473	9	7½



totaled £516,473 9s. 7½d. She also during these years placed her financial system upon a firm basis. For it should be made clear that at the beginning of the war her finances were still demoralized as the result of repudiating the face value of her currency when calling in her new tenor bills with a valuation of fourteen shillings and seven pence, and her old tenor bills with a valuation of fifty-one shillings, as the equivalent of the Spanish milled dollar instead of the proclamation or lawful valuation of six shillings to the dollar. In contrast to this, her bills of credit issued in the course of the French and Indian War were redeemed at face value. A committee of the General Assembly asserted in 1764 "that their value has remained invariable, permanent, and stable". Connecticut, in fact, had so buttressed her credit during these years that when at a later period it was determined to put forth further issues of paper bills she kept them on a lawful money basis although the issue of the year 1770 carried interest of only two and one-half per cent. in contrast to five per cent. on the issues from 1755 to 1764 inclusive—a rate of interest incidentally less than that paid on British consols, which, of course, are not to be confused with paper money,<sup>13</sup> while the issues of 1771, 1773, and 1774, each running for a period of two years, were without interest. All this she did in the course of the war in spite of the fact that practically one-fifth of her man power between the ages of sixteen and forty-five years was under arms from the year 1757 onward, and thus not only was out of productive activity but also exempt from taxes.<sup>14</sup>

The explanation of this extraordinary record on the part of Connecticut undoubtedly lies in certain unusual factors which profoundly affected the local situation. First among these, perhaps, was the fact that one of the war centers was along the borders of the neighboring province of New York and consequently Connecti-

"In these Services, from the Year 1755 to the Year 1762 inclusive, the Expences of the Colony over and above the parliamentary Grants (which have been received with the most sensible and humble Gratitude) amounts to upwards of four hundred thousand Pounds; the large Arrears of which Sum will remain a heavy distressing Burden upon the People for many Years to come." Thomas Fitch, *Reasons why the British Colonies, in America, should not be charged with Internal Taxes, by Authority of Parliament* (New Haven, 1764), pp. 31-32.

<sup>13</sup> In 1751 the rate of interest on the consolidated debt was placed at three per cent.

<sup>14</sup> *Conn. Col. Rec.*, X. 424; XII. 339, 667-668; XIII. 300; XIV. 499; Henry Bronson, *A Historical Account of Connecticut Currency*, New Haven Colony Historical Society, *Papers*, vol. I., ch. IV.

cut beef, pork, wheat, flour, and other commodities needed by the army contractors for the supply of the troops sold at greatly enhanced prices for specie.<sup>15</sup> Further, a large proportion of the expenditures made by the colony itself during the war was in favor of her own people in the form not only of wages for military service which were, it was stated, fifty per cent. higher than the wages of regular troops in the British army,<sup>16</sup> but also in the form of various military supplies that could be furnished locally, for which repayment was made by the British government. It should be appreciated, moreover, that, unlike the pay received during the Revolutionary War, compensation was not in depreciated paper currency but her soldiers, merchants, shippers, and farmers got their rewards either in specie or in that which ultimately could be exchanged for specie when the bills of credit which the colony issued were called in at the time of maturity. Connecticut undoubtedly during the war years floated on the crest of a wave of prosperity. There is a remarkable absence of complaint against unreasonable taxes, although the people, it would appear from the records, were paying during some years twenty-six times as much money in the form of taxes as was collected before the beginning of hostilities. Indeed, due to abatements in the rates for the years 1751 and 1752, only one penny on the pound in new tenor currency had been demanded, which equaled less than a halfpenny in lawful money and less than one-third of a penny in sterling.<sup>17</sup> In short, from 1755 to 1764, money was plentiful and easy to find for taxes, especially since these could be paid in bills of credit large quantities of which had been placed in circulation during the later years of the war. These bills of credit with which taxes were paid were not a legal tender. One was not able to go, therefore, to the treasurer of the colony at any time and present them for redemption in specie, securing upon request for six shillings a Spanish milled dollar, or for thirty-six shillings a moidore, or for forty-eight shillings a half Johannes—this was the specie which at that period found its way into the colony. In other words, only upon maturity were both the interest and principal paid in hard money or the equivalent in bills of ex-

<sup>15</sup> The Board of Trade was informed in 1757 that Mr. Kilby, the army contractor in America, found the price of wheat when he began buying, advance fifty per cent., from three to four shillings and sixpence per bushel. William Snell and Co. to the Board of Trade, May 13, 1757, C. O. 323: 31. "Your Information of Flour being 8/6 a Phila. is fals. it has not been under 9/6 per C. is now 10/6 and rising there", wrote G. G. Beekman to Samuel Fowler, Jan. 10, 1757, from New York. Beekman Letter Book, 1752-1770, MS., New York Historical Society.

<sup>16</sup> *Conn. Col. Rec.*, X. 475, 600.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, X. 65, 128-129.



change, provided funds were at hand for calling them in, which generally was the case.<sup>18</sup> It is important to keep this fact in mind, for it is difficult to believe that any such quantity of paper as was issued by Connecticut could have circulated in the late 'fifties and early 'sixties, without having its relationship to sterling or to hard money affected in the course of business affairs. Indeed, the tendency to discount this paper in ordinary transactions, where specie or bills of exchange in terms of sterling were involved, was almost inevitable, if the bills of credit still had some years to run before the date of maturity, in spite of the fact that the issues of the war period carried interest at five per cent.<sup>19</sup> In fact, by 1760, those of the colony were passing at a ratio of seven shillings to three of sterling or its equivalent, in place of the lawful money rate of six shillings to four shillings and sixpence. There was doubtless a careful distinction made at this period in business transactions between "lawful money" and "current lawful money" and it was in the latter that taxes were paid.<sup>20</sup> This may help to explain how it was that the taxpayers could be expected to pay into the Connecticut treasury during the later years of the war sums that were apparently ten times the amount of the ordinary levies in time of peace, as, for example, the sum of £78,895 in 1758; of £77,082 in 1759; of £59,494 in 1760; of £61,043 in 1761; of £35,921 in 1762; of £38,244

<sup>18</sup> However, Robert Livingston, of Livingston Manor, New York, in possession of £13,112 16s. 6d. in Connecticut bills of credit tendered them to the treasurer of the colony who was unable to redeem them. As a result he petitioned the assembly, August 10, 1768, for their equivalent in specie. It was agreed by that body in January, 1769, that upon the return of the bills he would be allowed five per cent. interest until the treasurer notified him of his ability to make payment. This interest, of course, was in addition to the interest that he was entitled to receive for the legal period of the life of the bills. Conn. Arch., Finance and Currency, V. 21.

<sup>19</sup> One need only bear in mind the decline in face value of the Liberty Bonds of the United States at the close of the World War to appreciate the likelihood of this depreciation. That the value of these bills became enhanced at times above the face value as the time approached for redeeming them with interest is quite consistent with the fact of their general depreciation. See Henry Bronson, *A Historical Account of Connecticut Currency*, New Haven Col. Hist. Soc., *Papers*, I. 83.

<sup>20</sup> The figures occur in the writer's notes drawn from some forgotten source. This would seem to offer an explanation of the rather puzzling comment made in 1760 by the eminent Connecticut lawyer, Jared Ingersoll, on the decision rendered in the case of *Dering vs. Packer* by the privy council when that august body decreed that the term "currency lawful money of New England" did not mean the bills of credit of any colony but was silver or its equivalent. "Perhaps they were mistaken in that matter", he declared, "not being acquainted with the Currency and Understanding of the people in N. England, and the Def<sup>t</sup> not well prepared to shew that matter." *Jared Ingersoll Papers*, p. 240, note \*. For a discussion of this point, see C. M. Andrews, *Current Lawful Money of New England*, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXIV.

in 1763; of £50,895 in 1764, as against a sum equal to less than £7000 for the year 1773.

Without discrediting in the slightest degree the splendid showing made by Connecticut in her war efforts to furnish men, money, food supplies, and other material, in comparison with that of some of the other colonies, it may be suggested that even when the public burdens of her people were greatest in the form of taxation during the years from 1758 to 1761 inclusive, they did not assume the proportion of those carried by the people of England even in time of peace.

There are, of course, certain problems which enter into estimations and comparisons of such burdens that must be taken into account by the student who desires to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion in these matters. There is the problem of determining income or wealth-producing capacity under given circumstances of one group as against another; the problem of placing on a basis adapted to comparison the systems of rating and collection in matters of direct taxation, with full knowledge regarding the local application of general taxation principles and specific measures of taxation; the problem of comparing the onus of indirect taxation as between groups and, in connection with this, that especially elusive problem of the incidence of taxation in the course of international trade more particularly as it arises when commodities that have been exported from the country in question are submitted to custom duties and other levies abroad or when foreign produced commodities received in exchange for the former are, previous to their shipment, submitted to various forms of public exaction. The colonials of wealth, at least, undoubtedly contributed generously to the British exchequer in the purchase of commodities from the mother country, the production of which had been by various processes submitted to taxation, although it is not to be suggested that in all cases this transfer of the tax to the consumer was possible.<sup>21</sup> For it is well recognized by

<sup>21</sup> For example, it probably was difficult to transfer to the Connecticut consumer the tax on many lines of English hardware, such as nails, the most important iron export from the mother country to her colonies. Connecticut was active in the production of this article and of other articles made from her iron; she even manufactured excellent steel during the period preceding the Revolution in spite of the restrictive act of 1750. Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia were still more active. English nails had, therefore, to compete apparently under disadvantages with those locally produced. The ironmaster, Joshua Gee, testified before a parliamentary committee in 1738 that the wood and ore for producing a ton of pig iron in England cost from thirty to forty shillings, while the same materials in most parts of America could be had for little or nothing. He also presented figures to prove that labor in America was two-thirds cheaper and that provisions were in general cheaper. Added to these items would be the cost of transportation of English iron across the Atlantic with other incidental charges. Testimony taken before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1738 regarding the Iron Trade. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Penn. MSS., miscellaneous, Iron, doc. 45.

students of public finance that in the course of international trade which tends to assume the form of barter the law of supply and demand operates to govern the factor of the incidence of a tax on commodities which under certain conditions will fall upon the consumer and under other conditions upon the producer or distributor. As it is not the province of this paper to examine this important but difficult aspect of British imperial finance, it will be necessary to keep in mind in the discussion to follow that no attempt has been made to estimate the extent of contribution that the Connecticut people undoubtedly made to the English exchequer by the indirect process, but only to analyze the nature of the contributions which they made to their own colonial treasury.

Various calculations as to the amount of taxes paid by Englishmen in the middle of the eighteenth century have come down to us. The statements of some writers place these at unbelievable heights.<sup>22</sup> Others, however, attempted to approach the subject with caution and one, in his *Calculations of Taxes for a Family of Each Rank, Degree, or Class for one Year, to the Rt. Hon. William Pitt*, published in 1756, sought to show that a laborer receiving five shillings a week, or thirteen pounds a year, would pay only fifteen shillings and tenpence in taxes or at the rate of fourteen pence on the pound in terms of sterling, although on the higher incomes with land taxed at four shillings on the pound, between one-third and one-fourth of the entire income would be taken when the various taxes were paid. More specifically, a gentleman with land which brought in an income of £1000 would pay a total of £336 13s. in taxes and one with land that brought in £100 would pay but £30 16s. Another writer, even more conservative in his estimates, placed the tax rate of the husbandman or laborer in time of peace at fifteen pence on the pound sterling while that of the wealthy landowner, with an income of £1000 from his land, at four shillings and ninepence on the pound.<sup>23</sup>

During the fiscal year 1749-1750, with taxation still at a war level although subsequent to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, there was raised in Great Britain for public purposes the sum of £9,083,540, by various imposts direct and indirect.<sup>24</sup> This represents a per

<sup>22</sup> It was asserted by one writer at an earlier period "that three-fifths of every man's income who lives up to his Estate is actually paid in taxes to the support of government", and that manufacturers and laborers paid fourteen shillings in taxes out of every twenty shillings they gained by their industry. Joseph Massie, *Calculations of Taxes for a Family of Each Rank, Degree, or Class for one Year to the Rt. Hon. William Pitt* (London, 1756), p. 10.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12-18. Cf. also *The Proposal Commonly Called Sir Matthew Decker's Scheme for One General Tax upon Houses Laid Open* (1757), pp. 121-122.

<sup>24</sup> Treasury Accounts, P.R.O., T. 30: 11.



capita levy of twenty-one shillings, counting the total population of England, Wales, and Scotland at 8,500,000 people. In Connecticut the taxes raised at any period from 1750 to 1755 did not exceed a penny and a farthing lawful money or three and three-fourths farthings sterling, which did not bring in a total beyond £4000 sterling a year.<sup>25</sup> In 1751, 1752, and 1754 the rate did not run higher than three farthings on the pound, bringing in, it appears, not more than £2400 sterling. This divided among a population in 1750 of probably not less than 100,000 white people<sup>26</sup> would indicate a tax burden that averaged for each individual, excluding blacks and Indians, five and three-fourths pence.<sup>27</sup> The comparison, moreover, does not take into account local rates which in some parts of England, owing to extensive poor relief, were fantastically high.<sup>28</sup> When taxation reached its highest point in Connecticut in 1758 during the war period, there was raised in the colony the sum of £78,895 6s. 7d. lawful money<sup>29</sup> which, with a population estimated at 137,133, would give a per capita tax of eleven shillings and sixpence or in terms of sterling, seven shillings and ninepence for that year. During the years immediately preceding the American Revolution it dropped to a per capita level of seven pence and two farthings sterling as against a per capita tax in England which could not have been less than twenty shillings with taxation rising to ten million pounds by the time of the outbreak of the American Revolution.<sup>30</sup> With respect to Connecticut, it should be further added that a very substantial proportion of the taxes levied in the course of the French and Indian War was not paid into the treasury at the time specified. In 1765 the arrears in taxes amounted to £80,000 for the period from 1755 to that year,<sup>31</sup> in 1769 over £45,000 still remained to be collected on the

<sup>25</sup> *Conn. Col. Rec.*, X. 65, 128-129; 197, 318, 624.

<sup>26</sup> In 1756 the population of the colony was given at 126,975, not counting blacks and Indians. *Ibid.*, X. 618.

<sup>27</sup> This of course relates to taxes on polls and rateable estate, which, however, was practically the only basis of taxation in Connecticut. *Ibid.*, XIV. 500. There was an excise on liquors which went to the support of the local schools (*Conn. Col. Rec.*, XII. 463), and import and tonnage duties which in the case of the port of New Haven amounted to £728 3s. 1½d. for the period from 1759 to 1768. Account Book of Joseph Talcott, p. 6.

<sup>28</sup> One Abraham Spooner, in testifying before a parliamentary committee in 1730, declared that at Dudley in Worcestershire the poor rates had risen from some two or three shillings on the pound to eight shillings. Hist. Soc. of Penn., Penn. MSS., misc., doc. 45, Committee Report of the House of Commons on the Iron Industry. I find in 1735 a rate of two farthings on the pound raised at New Haven for defraying the charges of the year. This is probably typical. Town Records, MSS. (1735), p. 439.

<sup>29</sup> Account Book of Joseph Talcott.

<sup>30</sup> Stephen Dowell, *A History of Taxation and Taxes in England*, II. 129-163.

<sup>31</sup> *Ingersoll's Letters*, p. 44.

levies referred to. Indeed, some of these arrears were not paid by the defaulting towns until as late as 1780.<sup>32</sup>

What, therefore, is the explanation of Connecticut's solvency and splendid financial showing in the face of the default in taxes on the part of the towns?

The key to the taxation situation in the colony during this period undoubtedly lies in a study of its relationship to parliamentary reimbursement for expenses incurred in the prosecution of the war. From 1757 to 1763 the British Parliament made a series of grants, in all amounting to over £1,150,000, as compensation to the American colonies for war expenditures upon the basis of the recommendations of the ministry. Provision for the first of these grants was made in 1756 when Parliament authorized the appropriation of a sum not to exceed £115,000, to be distributed to the colonies of New England, New York, and New Jersey, as a reward for past services and an encouragement to the colonials to continue their exertions with vigor. Of this sum Connecticut received £26,000, of which £24,828 10s. 1d. in gold and silver Spanish and Portuguese coins were packed in twenty-three chests and eighteen bags and sent to the colony, the remainder having been disbursed in the payment of fees at the exchequer and treasury and for insurance, cartage, freight, and other charges incidental to the shipping of specie. In 1757 Parliament voted direct compensation to Connecticut and Massachusetts, the former receiving £13,736 17s. 7d., one-half of which was forwarded to America in seven chests containing gold and silver,<sup>33</sup> and in 1759 the General Assembly authorized its agent, Jared Ingersoll, to send to the colony £15,000 sterling of the sum granted the previous year by Parliament.<sup>34</sup>

In 1759 the colony seems to have come to the conclusion, on account of the enhanced price of foreign coins in England and the increased demand for bills of exchange, that it was more advantageous to keep the funds received for reimbursement in some London bank rather than go to the expense of transporting the specie to America. As a result, in that year the General Assembly author-

<sup>32</sup> See the Account Book of John Lawrence, MS., Conn. State Library. See further the author's study entitled, *Taxation of the Connecticut Towns, 1750-1775*, in *Essays in Colonial History, presented to Charles McLean Andrews* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1931).

<sup>33</sup> 29 George II., c. 29; 31 George II., c. 33. *Conn. Col. Rec.*, X. 547-548. The writer's *Jared Ingersoll*, p. 72. *Conn. Arch.*, Finance and Currency, IV. 229.

<sup>34</sup> *Conn. Col. Rec.*, XI. 345. The remainder was to be put in some safe bank in England. Of the remaining funds, £2000 sterling was to be sold for the full value thereof in gold, silver, or bills of credit of this colony emitted by act of the assembly in March, 1758.

ized the sale of £22,000 sterling of the amount retained in England to those willing to pay the highest price for the bills of exchange drawn against these funds; in 1761, £34,000 was sold; in 1762, £35,000; and in 1765 the money received for the services rendered in 1761. From March 15, 1759, to July 28, 1765, bills of exchange amounting to £172,467 10s. 8d. sterling were drawn by Governor Fitch against the Connecticut funds on deposit in London.<sup>35</sup> In December, 1765, there still remained on reserve in the hands of Richard Jackson, the colony's agent in England, the sum of £9263, while in the spring of 1767 bills of exchange were sold by the colony against funds in London amounting to £10,656 6s. 3¾d. lawful money.<sup>36</sup> In other words, adding to the sums disposed of in form of bills of exchange, the funds brought to the colony in form of specie gives a total of £237,591 3s. 2d. sterling or £316,788 4s. 2⅔d. lawful money drawn by Connecticut from England without including the fees paid at the exchequer and treasury offices.

In the solicitation of these funds a factor enters which, in so far as it operated, was distinctly beneficial to Connecticut. That factor is the distinction referred to above between "lawful money" and "current lawful money". It has been stated that Connecticut in order to meet its extraordinary war expenditures issued bills of credit which although not legally a tender, in practice circulated as "current lawful money" and ultimately were returned to the government in the form of taxes, or exchanged at the proclamation rate for hard money or for bills of exchange on England. In so far as the value of these bills was less than their actual face value for the purposes of tax payments, just so far did Connecticut benefit in the receipt of these parliamentary aids which were in sterling and based upon a fixed relationship to "lawful money" values in contrast to "current lawful money" values. If one were to assume that the value of the bills of credit in the course of the war declined from a ratio of six shillings to four shillings and sixpence sterling, the lawful money exchange rate, to a ratio of six shillings to three shillings sterling the difference would be as follows: £100,000 sterling

<sup>35</sup> *Conn. Col. Rec.*, XI. 346, 490-491; XII. 61; *Fitch Papers*, Conn. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, XVIII. 353.

<sup>36</sup> In the Account Book of Joseph Talcott are found on page 4 the following items:

1766/7 To bills emitted March 1764 for bills of exchange	£428.16.11 £ 57.16. 6
	<hr/>
	£486.13.5
To Rec'd in hard money for Bills of Exchange	£10,169.12.10¾



amounted to £133,333 lawful money, and to £200,000 current lawful money. Yet the agent of the colony in seeking reimbursement for an expenditure on the part of the colony of £200,000 demanded £150,000 sterling, that is, the sterling equivalent of lawful money, which would be one-third more than the actual exchange value,<sup>37</sup> in the ordinary course of business in Connecticut.

Without unduly emphasizing the significance of the above figures it is a fact that the financial support given by England to Connecticut was so generous as to lead to the conclusion that for every pound actually paid by the people of Connecticut in the way of taxes during the course of the war, the people of England made a gift to the colony of an equal amount. It may also be pointed out that when in the year 1763, the outstanding certificates of indebtedness of the colony reached their widest circulation they amounted only to £250,000 lawful money,<sup>38</sup> which was actually £66,788 4s. 2 $\frac{2}{3}$ d. lawful money less than the total amount received from England. What this liberal financial assistance meant in the way of relief to the Connecticut taxpayer can be easily appreciated. The full extent of the benefit is so extraordinary as to make almost incredible the furious anti-ministerial agitation stirred up in that colony, as well as in other colonies, during the very period when these benefits were enjoyed at the expense of the English taxpayer. Because of these grants from England the Connecticut taxpayer found, doubtless somewhat to his surprise, that from 1760 onward until practically the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, there was being lifted from his back much of the load of taxation that the General Assembly had saddled upon him for the calling in and sinking of the bills of credit. In 1761 a rate of but ten pence on the pound was levied, whereas at the time of issuing the bills of credit maturing in that year a rate of eight pence and another of six pence had been authorized. In 1762 but five pence and three farthings on the pound was levied, although a tax of five pence and another of two pence and one farthing had been authorized; in 1763 but six pence on the pound was levied although a tax of ten pence and another of five pence had been authorized; in 1764 but eight pence on the pound was levied although a tax of nine pence and another of six pence had been authorized; in 1765 but one penny on the pound was levied although a tax of seven pence had been authorized; in 1766 there was no levy, although a tax of eight pence on the pound had been authorized, nor were there levies of taxes for the years 1767, 1768, 1769. In 1770

<sup>37</sup> *Conn. Col. Rec.*, XII. 339.

<sup>38</sup> *Conn. Arch.*, Finance and Currency, V. 5.

a levy of two pence on the pound fell due on December 31<sup>39</sup> and then until the outbreak of the war there were annual levies of one pence or two pence on the pound. But, to analyze this situation more carefully—in 1764 there were still outstanding as evidence of the colony's indebtedness the emissions of March, 1762, amounting to £65,000, to be called in no later than March, 1767; that of May, 1763, to be called in no later than May, 1765, and amounting to £10,000; and that of March, 1764, amounting to £7000, to be called in no later than March, 1768. At the October session of the assembly of the year first mentioned, the deputies made an attempt to abate two-thirds of a tax of six pence on the pound, amounting to £30,000, due the last day of December, 1764, and one-half of a tax of eight pence, amounting to £40,000, due the last day of December, 1766. This tax-reduction measure failed in the upper house although, as was made clear, but eight pence was actually levied on the pound in place of a total of fifteen pence provided for by law. There came out in the discussion the important information that the colony had on hand enough money to cover these tax reductions and the deputies naturally preferred to draw upon this rather than submit their constituents to the levy.<sup>40</sup> In the May session of the year 1765, the popular branch continued to fight. When the upper chamber demanded a tax of two pence to be collected the first day of the following December and one of a penny to be collected in May, 1769, "to meet emissions of bills", they held to a penny levy—which was never collected. They negatived the further bill providing for a tax of one and one-half pence to be collected the last day of the following December.<sup>41</sup> From May, 1765, to May, 1769, a period of four years, there is silence in the records as to all matters pertaining to the levying of taxes, except that in 1767 the assembly took up the question of the collection of back taxes<sup>42</sup> and the assessors made up their annual lists as required by the law. In the spring of 1769 another unsuccessful attempt was made to persuade the deputies to agree to a levy, this time of one and one-half pence, and in the October session still another equally unsuccessful to accept a levy of a penny.<sup>43</sup> In this contest the upper house was probably thinking in terms of sound public finance, remembering the obligations imposed on the colony by the parliamentary statute of 1751; the lower, in terms of immunity from taxation and the ad-

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, IV. 224, 226, 235, 383, 393.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, V. 8.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, V. 72.

<sup>42</sup> *Conn. Col. Rec.*, XII. 560-561.

<sup>43</sup> *Conn. Arch.*, Finance and Currency, V. 24, 27.

vantages of an expanded currency in the form of outstanding bills of credit. The year following, a tax of two pence on the pound was voted, to be collected the last day of December, 1771, for the purpose of calling in £10,000 in bills of credit, and a tax of two pence on the pound "for the payment of debts, etc. due from this Colony". In 1771 a tax of one penny was voted, one-half to be paid in December, 1772, and one-half in September, 1773.<sup>44</sup>

The significance of this struggle lies not only in its demonstration of the fact that Connecticut had practically freed herself from debt by the year 1765, the year of the Stamp Act crisis, but more important still is the disclosure of Connecticut's determination to guard, as a profound official secret, the existence of financial resources so large as to make it possible not only to refrain from making a number of the tax levies falling due between 1761 and 1770 but actually to free the people of the colony for five years from the burden of any taxation at all. "When I ask the members of our General Assembly the reason", wrote a correspondent to a local journal in 1770, "by some I am told the colony has paid no taxes since the year 1766, and those monies appropriated to the sinking the bills have been applied to the support of government ever since that time."<sup>45</sup>

The relation of resources to obligations will be clearer when it is pointed out that in 1764, £82,000 in bills of credit was the total sum outstanding against the colony although £346,500 in bills had been issued during the war crisis. This sum by 1769 had been reduced to £31,713 8s, which represented practically the only claim against the colony. At the same time there were assets amounting to £45,369 7s. 10d. in the form of back taxes due from the town collectors and £21,995 19s. 11d. still to be accounted for by Talcott who had just gone out of office as treasurer.<sup>46</sup> In other words, as a result of the businesslike disposition made of the funds appropriated by Parliament for the purpose of aiding the colony to sink its bills of credit it was possible for Connecticut not only to accomplish this but also, as has been stated, to relieve her people of the burden of supporting their own colonial government for a considerable period of time.

It is, therefore, much to be feared that the committee of the General Assembly which drew up the financial report sent to the Board of Trade in 1764, regarding the issues of bills of credit and the means provided for their redemption, left a very wrong impres-

<sup>44</sup> *Conn. Col. Rec.*, XIII. 301, 516.

<sup>45</sup> *Connecticut Journal*, Aug. 31, 1770.

<sup>46</sup> *Conn. Arch.*, Finance and Currency, V. 26, Report of the auditor, May, 1769.



sion as to the weight of the burdens that the taxpayers would be obliged to face in the coming years. This committee said nothing of certain assets that still remained on hand after the parliamentary grants had ceased;<sup>47</sup> and nothing of the relief from taxation that those grants made possible for the people of Connecticut. It is likewise much to be feared that when, in that same year, the colony sent to the government of Great Britain its *Reasons why the British Colonies in America should not be charged with Internal Taxes by Authority of Parliament*, it did not present a correct view in asserting that its expenses during the war, over and above the parliamentary grants, amounted to upward of £400,000, "the large Arrears of which Sum will remain a heavy distressing Burden upon the People for many years to come".<sup>48</sup> This was repeated by Governor Pitkin in a letter to the Earl of Shelburne in 1767 when, to a request for information regarding the financial situation of Connecticut, he replied, "The late War hath Loaded us with such a large and heavy Debt that we are now so in arrears that we are put to great Difficulties to Discharge those Debts, and support the present charge of government".<sup>49</sup> His communication, however, was so noncommittal that the following year the Earl of Hillsborough, who had assumed the new office of colonial secretary, wrote to him complaining that the information furnished was "not so compleat as it ought to have been" and that it would be necessary to have the treasurer's account of the disposition of the public funds.<sup>50</sup> There was, of course, nothing to do but to forward the required papers, with the inevitable disclosure regarding the remission of taxes. But Pitkin in a letter that accompanied it prepared Hillsborough for the discovery:

I beg leave further to acquaint your Lordship that [of] the heavy debt on this Colony Incurred during the last Warr (although the taxes were early laid for the payment thereof and the utmost efforts used to Collect them yet by reason of our Exerting ourselves therein beyond our Abilities the great loss Sustained in our Labouring Men, our Lands Depreciated at least one-third in their Value) there still remains to the amount of forty-eight thousand pounds unpaid, still a heavy Weight on the people, on Account of which the Assembly have Omitted for two years past laying any tax on the people to give them time to Struggle through and Discharge their former outstanding Debt.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>47</sup> *Conn. Col. Rec.*, XII. 339.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, XII. 668.

<sup>49</sup> William Pitkin to the Earl of Shelburne, June 1, 1767, *Pitkin Papers*, Conn. Hist. Soc., *Coll.*, XIX. 86.

<sup>50</sup> Earl of Hillsborough to the Colony of Connecticut, Feb. 23, 1768, *ibid.*, XIX. 114.

<sup>51</sup> Gov. Pitkin to the Earl of Hillsborough, undated, *ibid.*, XIX. 152-153 *Conn. Col. Rec.*, XIII. 78.

But the financial statement was so adroitly framed as to hide the essential facts. Indeed, in writing to William Samuel Johnson, Connecticut's agent in London in the summer of 1768 about the time of the sending of the Pitkin letter to Hillsborough, Jonathan Trumbull, who was then deputy governor, referred to the necessity of sending this information about the finances. "In obedience", he declared, "the Treasurer's Acct. for one year past, and the Establishment of Civil Offices and their Salaries duly Authenticated are transmitted—I fancy they will prove Satisfactory to answer the Design". He, however, went on to say most significantly: "I rather thought they wanted also the Public Lists of Polls of Estates—and were that asked it might appear in a light to them which might prove disadvantageous to the colony."<sup>52</sup>

The British ministry had come to feel that some relief should be secured for the British taxpayer bent under a crushing load of taxation. Hillsborough, the new secretary of state for the colonies, in an interview with Johnson in 1768 insisted that the Connecticut people were infinitely better off when it came to taxes than were the people of England and in all fairness should make some definite contribution to the exchequer for imperial administration. In view of the determination of the Connecticut authorities to mislead the British government, it is perhaps not surprising that the Connecticut agent should reply to this suggestion that the burdens of the Connecticut people "were truly very great, and even more than we knew how to bear".<sup>53</sup> However, writing the following year confidentially to his friend Joseph Trumbull, to congratulate the people of the colony on their happy financial situation, he declared, "I am glad to find the Colony so nearly out of debt", and then proceeded to caution his correspondent that he desired Parliament to know "as little as possible of our internal circumstances and police [policy], especially in point of taxation, which", he said, "they will never clearly understand, and which may be liable to much misconstruction".<sup>54</sup> The opinion, however, may be ventured that the one thing Johnson and the colonial authorities were most solicitous about was that Parliament and the ministry should never understand the real taxation situation in Connecticut.

<sup>52</sup> Jonathan Trumbull to William Samuel Johnson, July 4, 1768, Johnson MSS., Conn. Hist. Soc. What, of course, Trumbull had in mind was the noncollection of back taxes.

<sup>53</sup> William Samuel Johnson to William Pitkin, Feb. 13, 1768, Mass. Hist. Soc., Coll., 5th series, IX. 262.

<sup>54</sup> William Samuel Johnson to Joseph Trumbull, Apr. 15, 1769, *ibid.*, IX. 333-334.

It is now well known that this was the period when Connecticut made her first appearance as a center of wealth. Well might a writer in a local paper in 1770 "contemplate New Haven's great Increase within those few Years past, by the many and Elegant Buildings erected".<sup>55</sup> That which was true of this town was also true of other flourishing centers of population. A traveler journeying up the Connecticut in 1769 declared that parents were sufficiently wealthy to provide farms and equipment for their numerous children as soon as the latter were ready to marry.<sup>56</sup> In England it is well known that such a provision for children was utterly impossible for parents in the same station in life. Indeed, according to abundant contemporary evidence, the burden of taxation in England was so overwhelming with respect to the rural population that the yeoman class of small farmers was rapidly disappearing, giving place to a race "of *puny, abject wretches*, tamed by *want* into *servitude*".<sup>57</sup> One needs, therefore, to qualify very considerably the statements made by Pitkin and Johnson regarding the great financial discouragement and poverty under which the people of the colony were laboring.

Connecticut, in truth, occupied a privileged position within the empire. She was practically autonomous so far as her government was concerned, and she paid scant respect to the laws of Parliament that were supposed to bind her, at least when those laws, such as the navigation and trade acts, were as she conceived, against her interests. She sought the benefits of the imperial connection without desiring to assume reciprocal responsibilities. When the crisis finally arose over the question of the liability of the colonies to make some definite, direct contribution to the charges of the imperial administration, she did not hesitate to join in the efforts then made to wreck the British Empire, identification with which seemed no longer to bring benefits but rather, obligations. Then it was that she proceeded to call into her treasury the outstanding arrears of taxes for the years from 1758 to 1765 which, since she had not required them, had been left, as it were, a loan to those towns that had failed to make payment.<sup>58</sup> These back taxes with interest charges from the year 1767, turned into the commonwealth treasury between 1770 and 1780, aided the colony to make those preparations not only to defy Great Britain

<sup>55</sup> *Connecticut Journal*, Dec. 7, 1770.

<sup>56</sup> *Connecticut Courant*, Sept. 6, 1769.

<sup>57</sup> Robert Nugent, *Considerations upon a Reduction of the Land Tax* (London, 1749), p. 22. See also *The Present Taxes compared to Payment made to the Publick within the Memory of Man* (1749), pp. 46-48.

<sup>58</sup> See Taxation of the Connecticut Towns, already cited.



in attempting to maintain over her an effective control, but to establish her independence. It is, indeed, one of the ironies of history that the munificence of the mother country to Connecticut in her hour of need should ultimately have been returned by the colony from the muzzles of the guns of her embattled farmers.

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## LINCOLN'S ELECTION AN IMMEDIATE MENACE TO SLAVERY IN THE STATES?

IF the future of the institution of slavery in the Southern states had been vested exclusively in the hands of the man called to the executive leadership of the nation in 1860, and if he had carried on a policy consistent with his earlier attitude toward slavery, any fears concerning the immediate future of slavery in the Southern states would have been groundless. Abraham Lincoln, Kentucky born and an Illinoisian by the grace of the Westward movement, probably disliked the institution of slavery in the abstract as much as did any Northerner. Yet from the beginning he condemned abolition fanaticism as much as he deplored the blind zeal of the proslavery zealot.

Lincoln's early Kentucky contacts were kept up with a group of personal and political associates in central Illinois, who likewise hailed from the state across the Ohio. Though his dear friend, Joshua F. Speed, married and settled down as a resident of Louisville, the two kept up a friendly correspondence, Speed more and more speaking for the "peculiar institution" of the South and Lincoln for the ideal of freedom. When in due time strained political relations between the two developed and Speed declared that rather than yield his legal right to his slaves, especially at the behest of those not themselves interested, he would see the Union dissolved, Lincoln declined to find fault with this principle except to point out: "I am not aware that any one is bidding you yield that right; very certainly I am not."<sup>1</sup>

Lincoln entered politics as a Whig with the large, prosperous, slaveholding planters of the South as party associates. When in 1847-1848 he reached the national political field as a member of Congress from the Springfield district, he promptly made warm friends and associates with a group of young Southern Whigs who were among the first to espouse the presidential candidacy of General Zachary Taylor, a slaveholder. In behalf of this Southerner in the presidential election of 1848, he spurned the Free Soil party which offered some promise as an independent antislavery party.

With the break-up of the Whig party over the Kansas-Nebraska

<sup>1</sup> *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, J. G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds., II. 282.

Act, Lincoln showed a strong reluctance to abandon his Whig connections. While assuming firm anti-Nebraska ground, he showed absolutely no sympathy for the original Republican movement in Illinois, which found itself unable to make progress except among the really radical antislavery element. He refused to allow the use of his name as member of the abortive state central committee organized by Owen Lovejoy in 1854. For a time he continued to call himself a Whig; later he coöperated with those who sought to keep the antislavery extension movement in Illinois on "respectable", "conservative" ground. The shock of Lovejoy's nomination for Congress in 1856 "turned me blind", he wrote figuratively to a friend.<sup>2</sup> Though a Frémont elector-at-large in 1856, in his numerous campaign speeches he seems studiously to have avoided referring to himself or to his party associates under the designation, "Republican". As late as 1859 he was conferring with conservative opposition leaders in the Southern border states on the possibility of a united stand against the Buchanan administration; in a speech at Cincinnati he indicated a preference for a Southern man on the 1860 ticket, explaining that the "proslavery party must be showed [*sic*] that the Republicans, in opposing the aggrandizement of slavery, were friends of the Union and promoters of the general good".<sup>3</sup> In the campaign of 1860 his claims were pushed as those of a conservative Republican standing substantially on Henry Clay ground. Again and again did he repeat the Republican guarantee to the institution of slavery in the Southern states where it already existed. Even after his election he assured his old friend, Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, of the absolute safety of the slaveholder in his property rights.<sup>4</sup>

Contemporary and later belief in Lincoln's abolitionist position seems to have rested largely upon the assumed meaning of his famous "House Divided" speech of June, 1858, which was interpreted as the proclamation of a crusade to eradicate slavery from the nation. Lincoln consistently denied this interpretation and insisted that it was no more than a prophetic utterance of grave moral import. In the proper background of his antislavery views, Lincoln could not possibly have been convicted of the dread "abolition" heresy. Indeed, perhaps he never before his Presidency reached a more definite attitude than when at Peoria in 1854 he admitted his inability to offer any adequate, immediate solution of the slavery problem:

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II. 264, 290.

<sup>3</sup> *Cincinnati Commercial*, Sept. 19, in *National Intelligencer*, Sept. 22, 1859.

<sup>4</sup> Henry Cleveland, *Alexander H. Stephens, in Public and Private*, p. 151.



"If all earthly power were given me, I should not know what to do as to the existing institution."<sup>5</sup>

These were not the words of a man who would carry abolition doctrines—however moderate—into the White House. Indeed, as the outbreak of armed strife seemed to many to bring about a clear issue between the forces of freedom and slavery, even at the risk of his popularity in the North, Lincoln firmly resisted the abolition tide that swept over the North. When finally the institution of slavery was well on the road to its doom and Lincoln was sent to his martyrdom, James Redpath, the Massachusetts abolitionist, insisted that there should be no illusion as to Lincoln's contribution toward the new era of freedom: "Lincoln was an emancipationist by compulsion. . . . Lincoln was made a saint and liberator in spite of himself; he was cuffed into the calendar; he was kicked into glory; he did not voluntarily rise up, he was floated upon the restless will of the people, to the height he now occupies."<sup>6</sup> Nothing then in Lincoln's career suggests an abolition menace from that quarter in 1860-1861.

Alongside Lincoln's views on slavery and its future status in the United States one must place the picture that the Southerner conjured up in his mind when he contemplated the possibility of the success of the Republican nominee for the Presidency. In the background lay sensitiveness to the defensive position of the slave states, more particularly the belief, expressed by John C. Calhoun in 1849, that the "great body of the North is united against our peculiar institution. Many believe it to be sinful, and the residue, with inconsiderable exceptions, believe it to be wrong." Calhoun feared from an early day that once the legislative destruction of slavery in the District of Columbia was accomplished, there would logically follow a general movement for the abolition of slavery and that with emancipation would come political and social equality for the negro, who, as the political ally of the Northern sectionalists, would accomplish the prostration of the white race in the South.<sup>7</sup> It is interesting that, whatever lot might have been experienced by the South if it had peaceably acquiesced in Lincoln's election and inauguration, the worst fears of Northern sectionalism which Calhoun nursed were realized in all their tragic details in the era that followed secession.

Other philosophic spokesmen of the South pointed to the dread logic of broad construction doctrines, which, developed in the North and applied first to a United States bank, then to internal improve-

<sup>5</sup> *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, II. 205-206.

<sup>6</sup> *Boston Commonwealth*, in *Columbus (Ohio) Crisis*, Jan. 24, 1866.

<sup>7</sup> *Works of John C. Calhoun*, R. K. Crallé, ed., VI. 307, 310-311.

ments and to protective tariffs, inevitably reached at last the institution of slavery. Indeed, from the contest on the tariff, it was claimed, the victorious North moved on the institution of slavery. Under the circumstances, as the *Charleston Mercury* put it: "With the free institutions of the North—with their active, inquiring, domineering characteristics—to allow any interference with the institution of slavery by the Northern people was to destroy it."<sup>8</sup> Yet such a danger, however logical, must have seemed visionary to the practical man of the world; indeed, the typical large planter and slaveholder had for a decade or more been prompt in decrying such arguments.

With the rise of the Republican party the threat to the peculiar institution of the South seemed to become more real. In 1856—much more so in 1860—Robert A. Toombs, Henry A. Wise, and many other champions of Southern rights announced that the victory of the Republican candidates could be met in the South only by secession. "Resistance to Lincoln is obedience to God", was the motto proposed for a young men's club forming at Montgomery, Alabama, in October, 1860.<sup>9</sup> During and after the campaign Lincoln was pictured in many quarters not only as a black Republican but "as an Abolitionist; a fanatic of the John Brown type; the slave to one idea, who, in order to carry that out to its legitimate results, would override laws, constitutions, and compromises of every kind",<sup>10</sup> as a Robespierre ready to overturn the whole fabric of society. In the same spirit his running mate, Hannibal Hamlin, was publicly libeled as a candidate with a strain of negro blood in his veins, in whose election proud and high-spirited Southern gentlemen could not acquiesce. The North proposes to answer Southern sacrifices to the Union "by electing a Helperite and a free negro to rule over you", was the warning appeal to the South of Yancey's organ, the *Montgomery Advertiser*.<sup>11</sup> That these views should have permeated large groups at the South is not strange when Northern critics proclaimed Lincoln as an "ultra abolitionist", and denounced "the radical and revolutionary principles of the 'black Republican' party", and of "Lincoln's unmistakable abolition speeches".<sup>12</sup> It is rather inter-

<sup>8</sup> *Charleston Tri-Weekly Mercury*, Apr. 14, 1860.

<sup>9</sup> *Montgomery Mail*, Oct. 18, in *New York Tribune*, Oct. 26, 1860.

<sup>10</sup> *St. Louis Democrat*, Nov. 8, in *New York Tribune*, Nov. 12, 1860.

<sup>11</sup> *Montgomery Advertiser*, Nov. 8, 1860, in *New York Tribune*, Nov. 13, 1860. See further citations in *Tribune*, Nov. 24, 29, 1860; *New York Herald*, Dec. 1, 1860; *Cleveland Leader*, July 9, 1860; *Liberator*, July 27, 1860.

<sup>12</sup> *New York Herald*, June 17, Sept. 3, 1860. The Northern Democratic press often charged that the Harper's Ferry raid and other rumored attempts at servile insurrection were the logical first fruits of Republicanism and the inspiration of

esting, however, that little reference was made in the South to the famous "House Divided" speech and its alleged abolition implication.

Yet Lincoln's detractors were not allowed to go unchallenged, even in the South. Conservative newspaper editors there pointed to the similarity of his views on slavery to those professed by the first generation of American statesmen and to those generally acted upon by Clay and Benton. John Minor Botts, the old-line Virginia Whig leader, who opposed Lincoln as the candidate of a sectional party, proclaimed ridiculous and contemptible the charge that Lincoln was a Free Soiler or an abolitionist. Even Alexander H. Stephens privately declared to a correspondent: "In point of merit as a man I have no doubt Lincoln is just as good, safe and sound a man as Mr. Buchanan, and would administer the Government so far as he is individually concerned just as safely for the South and as honestly and faithfully in every particular."<sup>13</sup>

During the presidential campaign Lincoln was importuned by Southerners who believed in his sense of justice and moderation to write an open letter disclaiming all intention to interfere with slaves or slavery in the states. The Republican candidate, however, invariably replied that such assurances were already sufficiently on record in print and that reiteration would not convince those who still doubted. Indeed, the Charleston organ of Southern disunion frankly proclaimed in its own behalf: "If Mr. Lincoln was to come out and declare that he held sacred every right of the South, with respect to African slavery, no one should believe him; and, if he was believed, his professions should have not the least influence on the course of the South." Lincoln had without doubt a keen political sense—he was far from the impractical idealist or visionary who would take his stand independently of the currents of contemporary politics. Yet there was nothing in the situation in the canvass of 1860 that would have rendered unpopular, except with extreme abolitionists, a reiteration of his conservative antislavery ground. He was, however, sensitive to the fact that a further public statement the incendiary whose midnight torch and secret poison were already at work in the Southern states. The *Herald* of Mar. 29, 1860, declared: "The theories and arguments of Spooner, Seward and Blake are identical with those of the infamous 'friends of the blacks' in the French National Assembly in 1790, and who hounded on the negroes of St. Domingo to the revolution, massacre and ruin that swept that fair island from the family of civilized nations. Against such a fate the South must unite."

<sup>13</sup> New York *Tribune*, Oct. 31, 1860. Stephens to J. Henly Smith, July 10, 1860, *The Correspondence of Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens, and Howell Cobb*, U. B. Phillips, ed., Am. Hist. Assoc., *Annual Report*, 1911, II. 487.



might be interpreted as a confession of weakness. He pointed out to George D. Prentice, of the *Louisville Journal*, under date of October 29, that his opponents "would seize upon almost any letter I could write as being an 'awful coming down'".<sup>14</sup>

Following his election conservative-minded and Union-loving Southerners, anxious to check the disappointment of their neighbors, wrote to Lincoln for reassurance and received private replies that seemed to them convincing. But, even as President-elect, he declined to promulgate in advance of his inauguration a public declaration of his views. In Lincoln's silence, Cassius M. Clay addressed a letter to the public reminding the South that "Lincoln is a Kentuckian by birth, and has a Kentucky-born wife, and numerous slaveholding relatives—that he is an old Henry Clay Whig—a conservative by temperament, antecedents, and avowals, and that all the constitutional rights of the South will be by him thoroughly protected". A letter was also published from the pen of John Bell of Tennessee, Lincoln's former associate in the Whig party but a more recent rival for presidential honors; this offered further assurances that Lincoln did not hold extreme views on slavery and that the South would not be endangered by his accession to office.<sup>15</sup>

On the other hand, Southern leaders who forecast in the election of a "black Republican" the final blow to Southern rights, did not picture a very concrete danger to the "peculiar institution" of the South. They applied to the situation formulas which they had been repeating for years. "The avowed principles . . . of the Republican party are a proclamation of war against the South", L. M. Keitt, of South Carolina, had declared on the floor of Congress on January 25, 1860; "The consummation of its principles will be the practical subversion of the guarantees of the Constitution, and the condemnation of the whole industrial system of the South to chaotic rupture." Republican success will be an "overt act" against the South, echoed L. J. Gartrell, of Georgia, and a dozen others.<sup>16</sup> But fire eaters like Yancey had been seeing "abolitionism" in squatter sovereignty doctrine and had refused to be satisfied even with their

<sup>14</sup> *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, VI. 66, 67. *Charleston Mercury*, Oct. 13, 1860.

<sup>15</sup> *New York Tribune*, Jan. 23, 1861. *National Intelligencer*, Dec. 15, 1860. A statement that went the rounds of the press came from a wealthy Mississippi planter who, on a visit to Springfield, sounded out Lincoln's views on slavery and received assurances that warranted him in proceeding with the purchase of the additional supply of negroes to pick his cotton crop. *Chattanooga Gazette*, clipped in *Charleston Courier*, Nov. 24, clipped in *National Intelligencer*, Nov. 28, 1860; see also *New York Herald*, Dec. 6, 1860.

<sup>16</sup> *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 sess., p. 391, app., pp. 93, 96-97.

Northern Democratic friends as long as they shared the prevailing Northern belief that slavery was a thing intrinsically wrong in itself; indeed, this was admitted to be the real cause of sectional discord.

Now, again, when Southerners sought to measure the consequences of Lincoln's election for their section, they talked rather vaguely of Southern honor and of Northern principles dangerous to the rights and institutions of the South;<sup>17</sup> of the evidence that the Northern mind was poisoned against the South, as was the opinion of Governor Thomas O. Moore, of Louisiana;<sup>18</sup> of "the determination of Northern fanatics to urge their mad schemes, regardless of the welfare and the security of the Southern people", as Governor M. S. Perry, of Florida, phrased it.<sup>19</sup> The election of Lincoln "means all the insult for the present and all the injury for the future that such an act can do", proclaimed the Wilmington, North Carolina, *Daily Journal*.<sup>20</sup> The Atlanta *Confederacy* predicted that, while Lincoln's administration would be conservative for twenty-four months, it would insidiously be "coiling its slimy folds around our dearest rights and patriarchal interests"; the Montgomery *Southern Confederacy* proclaimed the danger that the Republicans would in four short years "inflict a moral sting upon slavery" from which it would never recover. "The Southern States *will not tamely submit* to be governed by a party that declares eternal war on their constitutional rights", announced the Raleigh *Press* of November 9.<sup>21</sup> "Better to fight for our rights than to submit to Black Republican degradation", proclaimed Governor Andrew B. Moore, of Alabama.<sup>22</sup> "The event that fixes this belief", wrote James M. Mason to the editor of the Richmond *Enquirer*, "is not the election of the man, it is the accession of the power, of which he is the minister."<sup>23</sup> "The election of Lincoln and Hamlin was the last straw on the back of the camel", commented R. Barnwell Rhett before the South Carolina secession convention.<sup>24</sup> The situation "provides neither redress for past grievances nor security against future aggressions", complained a leading Alabama secessionist after having generously con-

<sup>17</sup> Newbern (N. C.) *Daily Progress*, Nov. 20, in *New York Tribune*, Nov. 23, 1860; *De Bow's Review*, XIX. (1860) 106.

<sup>18</sup> Message of Dec. 10, in *New York Tribune*, Dec. 12, 1860.

<sup>19</sup> Message of Nov. 26, in *New York Tribune*, Dec. 6, 1860.

<sup>20</sup> *Wilmington Daily Journal*, Nov. 7, 1860.

<sup>21</sup> *Atlanta Confederacy*, in *New York Tribune*, Oct. 5, 1860; *Montgomery Southern Confederacy*, in *Cleveland Leader*, July 13, 1860; *Raleigh Press*, in *New York Tribune*, Nov. 13.

<sup>22</sup> Cited by Selma (Ala.) *Sentinel*, in *New York Tribune*, Nov. 12, 1860.

<sup>23</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, Nov. 30, 1860.

<sup>24</sup> *National Intelligencer*, Jan. 7, 1861.

ceded that Lincoln's election alone was insufficient cause for secession.<sup>25</sup> Such were what the *Nashville Republican Banner* chose for the time to ridicule as the "sublimated abstractions" of the Southern secessionists; such doctrines thoughtful Union men of that section were not slow to denounce.<sup>26</sup>

Southern leaders at the national capital commented upon the election in the same strain. Howell Cobb wrote from the office of the Secretary of the Treasury to the people of Georgia: "Black Republicanism is the ruling sentiment at the North, and by the election of Lincoln has pronounced in the most formal and solemn manner against the principles which are now commended to the country for its safety and preservation. . . . Black Republicanism has buried brotherhood in the same grave with the Constitution. We are no longer 'brethren dwelling together in unity.' The ruling spirits of the North are Black Republicans—and between them and the people of the South there is no other feeling than that of bitter and intense hatred." Secretary of War Floyd complained that Lincoln, however conservative, had received the votes of "the fanatics who apotheosize John Brown" and that "ninety percent of the northern voters . . . denied to the South the right of constitutional protection to slave property in the public territories". In the memorable debate that took place upon the floor of the United States Senate in December, 1860, there were more sublimated abstractions. Bayard, of Delaware, explained that the Southern people, to whose progress and civilization slavery was an essential prerequisite, could not afford to place themselves under the control of communities holding the doctrine of racial equality, with its threat to more than three thousand millions of dollars of slave property in the South. Mason, of Virginia, declared his belief that the predominant evil was that of "a war of sentiment and opinion by one form of society against another form of society".<sup>27</sup> Wigfall, of Texas, who now claimed a grievance against the government on the basis of its denial that slaves were property and of its refusal to

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 18, 1860.

<sup>26</sup> *Nashville Republican Banner*, Nov. 9, 1860. It is significant that later, when the *Republican Banner* adopted the secessionist position, it also poured out its full quota of sublimated abstractions. The election of Lincoln then became "a declaration of war upon the honor, the constitutional rights and the most important sectional interests of the South". See *ibid.*, May 7, 1861.

<sup>27</sup> *Correspondence of Toombs, Stephens, and Cobb*, pp. 515-516. *New York Herald*, Dec. 3, 1860. *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 sess., p. 35. "We find that the Republican party have elected a President upon a platform that virtually outlaws our property, and places our institutions under the ban of the empire", commented Senator Powell of Kentucky. *Ibid.*, p. 95.



protect the owners of slaves in their title whenever they were within the Federal jurisdiction, took only a short step later when he explained to the English journalist, William H. Russell, that the South and its institutions were unknown and misunderstood by Northern writers: "We are an agricultural people; we are a primitive but a civilised people. We have no cities—we don't want them. We have no literature—we don't need any yet. We have no press—we are glad of it. We do not require a press, because we go out and discuss all public questions from the stump with our people."<sup>28</sup>

True it was, as many a Southerner pointed out, that a preponderant North might "render slave property so precarious as regards its tenure, that it would become valueless to its owners". Congressman A. G. Jenkins, of Virginia, and Senator Alfred Iverson, of Georgia, however, were among the relatively few who ever tried to analyze the possible adverse consequences for the South of Republican success. Besides extravagant references to abolition propaganda in the South and to servile insurrection, they specified only the abandonment of the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act and the appointment of Republicans to civil and military offices in the South.<sup>29</sup> It is to-day evident that Lincoln went to great lengths to give the South complete satisfaction on both of these points. He had always acknowledged the necessity of fugitive slave legislation. Sworn to enforce the existing law for the rendition of fugitive slaves, with his administration the machinery for enforcement took on a new vigor. On the other hand, Lincoln was anxious to give Southerners adequate consideration for appointments under the new régime. He was willing to give at least one Southerner who had opposed his election a place in the cabinet, and, as he informed Seward, he preferred one who had a *bona fide* "living position in the South" to one from the border states or one who had a record of long service in Washington. He tendered a cabinet appointment to John A. Gilmer, of North Carolina, in whom he placed considerable confidence as a Union man. "As to the use of patronage in the slave States, where there are few or no Republicans", he wrote Gilmer on December 15, 1860, "I do not expect to inquire for the politics of the appointee, or whether he does or not own slaves."<sup>30</sup> Instead

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71; William H. Russell, *My Diary, North and South* (New York, 1863), p. 71.

<sup>29</sup> Senator J. A. Bayard, in *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 sess., p. 1486. *Ibid.*, 1 sess., app., p. 260; 2 sess., pp. 49, 203, 357; *Cleveland Leader*, July 10, 30, 1860.

<sup>30</sup> Lincoln to Seward, Jan. 12, 1861, *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, VI. 80-81, 94. Seward favored similar concessions to the South in appointments. Frederick W. Seward, *Seward at Washington*, pp. 487, 493, 496.

of promptly packing the Supreme Court, as he might have done, he patiently but vainly awaited the opportunity to find Southerners available for these highest judicial appointments.

On the other hand, there was still the moot question as to how much control over events Lincoln could exercise. Following his election the Reverend Benjamin M. Palmer, of New Orleans, essayed an elaborate analysis of the sectional crisis in an impassioned Thanksgiving sermon. Conceding that Lincoln's purpose was to administer the government in a conservative and national spirit, he dismissed him as "nothing more than a figure upon the political chess-board", "nearly as impotent for good as he is competent for evil". "From henceforth", declared Palmer, "this is to be a government of section over section; a government using constitutional forms only to embarrass and divide the section ruled, and as fortresses through whose embrasures the cannon of legislation is to be employed in demolishing the guaranteed institutions of the South. What issue is more direct, concrete, intelligible than this?"<sup>31</sup> Yet even in this statement, as in all the informal Southern commentary upon Lincoln's election, there is little evidence of any definite immediate menace to slavery.

When one inspects the potentialities of the "cannon of legislation", mentioned by Palmer, one finds it an abstraction rather than a concrete reality. Conceding that the time might have come—in two years or four seems most unlikely—when the Northern sectionalists should have legislative control in both houses, how could they have directed their attack upon slavery? The modern student thinks of the interstate commerce clause, but, with the generally prevailing conception of the police power of the states, this clause had not begun to make its later contribution to nationalism and centralization. Thoroughgoing abolitionists held that they could not take advantage of the interstate commerce clause without making the fatal admission that slaves were property.<sup>32</sup> Federal control over the mails and over Federal property within the states presented the possibility of annoying the tortured South but hardly of driving the wedge toward the vitals of slavery. Repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law—or its continued and more widespread nullification in the North—would not actually have jeopardized the existing status of slavery itself, however seriously Southern spokesmen had pointed to this danger over a period of a dozen years or more. If the

<sup>31</sup> Benjamin Morgan Palmer, *The South: her Peril and her Duty* (New Orleans, 1860), pp. 12-13.

<sup>32</sup> *Liberator*, Mar. 28, 1857, XXVI. 52. Moreover, Lincoln was committed against the exercise of this power. *Ibid.*, June 8, 1860, XXX. 89.

existence of slavery depended upon the effective rendition of fugitive slaves, then, even with their dreams of peaceable secession, by such withdrawal from the Union, which meant bringing the frontier of freedom an average of over three hundred miles nearer to Dixie, the Southern states struck a fatal blow at their basic institution. Finally, the possibility of a hostile Supreme Court under Republican control—with the veto power over appointments that the Senate opposition could wield—and of attack by constitutional amendment, seemed remote indeed.

The most thoroughgoing champions of Southern rights seldom even hinted that they saw such specific dangers looming over the horizon. The uncertainties of the situation did seem likely to offset the current value of slave property in the South. The *Charleston Mercury* forecast that submission to the new administration would result in a prompt reduction of one hundred dollars in the value of each slave.<sup>33</sup> The Mississippi declaration of causes which induced the secession of that state made the typical sweeping reference to the alternative between submission to degradation and the loss of four billion dollars of slave property, but without defining the nature of the menace except by referring to the recently obtained control of government with the resulting destruction of "the last expectation of living together in friendship and brotherhood". To be sure, the legislature had previously suggested the menace of an abolition amendment to the Constitution that would require an increase of abolition states to total the necessary three-fourths.<sup>34</sup> But this was a most remote contingency.

There were few Southerners, indeed, who gave definite consideration to the immediacy of the danger of an abolition amendment. Senator Josiah E. Evans, of South Carolina, in 1856 suggested the possibility of such a development within a period of forty or fifty years. Four years later a Virginia contributor to *De Bow's Review*, writing on the Issues of 1860, ventured the prediction that the dread event might be witnessed at any time after a ten year period in which the North would have been steadily building up its strength.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> *Charleston Mercury*, Oct. 11, 1860. The *Nashville Republican Banner*, Dec. 18, 1860, then a Union journal, estimated the first effects of the "revolution" precipitated by the Northern and Southern sectionalists as including a one-fifth decline in the value of slave property. Evidence in the winter of 1860-1861 both supported and contradicted such a decline. *New York Herald*, Dec. 19, 1860, Jan. 14, 1861.

<sup>34</sup> *Journal of the State Convention* (Jackson, 1861), p. 87; *Laws of the State of Mississippi* (Jackson, 1860), p. 44.

<sup>35</sup> *Congressional Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 sess., app., p. 703; *De Bow's Review*, XXVIII. (1860) 258. At the Southern commercial convention of 1859, Henry S. Foote suggested that an abolition amendment might be possible by 1885. *De Bow's Review*, XXVII. (1859) 220.



The danger of an abolition amendment to the Constitution was easily exaggerated in the South, though the Thirteenth Amendment which came as the culmination of the armed strife of the 'sixties seems at first glance to furnish confirmation of this fear. Yet it should be remembered that Republican Congressmen in the closing days of the Buchanan administration played an active part in the approval of a proposed thirteenth amendment providing that Congress should never be given power to abolish or interfere with slavery in any of the slaveholding states. The Republican members both of the House Committee of Thirty-three and the Senate Committee of Thirteen unanimously agreed to this proposition and not a single Republican vote was cast against a House resolution declaring that "neither the federal government nor the people or governments of the non-slaveholding States have a purpose or a constitutional right to legislate upon or interfere with slavery in any of the States of the Union". When the proposed amendment came to a formal vote, sixty-two Republican representatives and twelve senators voted in the negative, but forty-five Republicans in the House and seven in the Senate contributed to the necessary constitutional majority.<sup>36</sup> This amendment was sent to the several states for ratification and favorable action came promptly from Republican Ohio as well as from slaveholding Maryland.

Conservative Southerners were prompt to point out that Lincoln was actually "powerless for the evil apprehended at his hands".<sup>37</sup> The New Orleans *True Delta* enumerated the checks upon any possible abolition proclivities: "A Senate and a House of Representatives are opposed to him and his principles—the Supreme Court of the Union has judicially decided against them—and a million majority at least of the popular vote of the Republic will be recorded against him."<sup>38</sup> Or, as the Nashville *Republican Banner* put it: South-

<sup>36</sup> *House Journal*, 36 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 298-299; 426-427; *Senate Journal*, 36 Cong., 2 sess., p. 383. This Republican vote against an amendment that could be altered only by the unanimous action of every state should not be interpreted as an indication of abolitionist sentiment; cf., however, *Correspondence of Toombs, Stephens, and Cobb*, p. 550. The scornful attitude toward the proposed amendment of Southern leaders who sneered at it as a "bread pill" and a "delusion" made Stephen A. Douglas—who had previously been prone to charge the sectional crisis to Republican fanaticism—suggest that perhaps these leaders were hoping for the failure of the amendment "for fear that it will pacify the people". *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 sess., p. 1389.

<sup>37</sup> *Louisville Journal*, in *New York Tribune*, Nov. 12, 1860.

<sup>38</sup> *New Orleans Daily True Delta*, Nov. 20, 1860. Senator Wigfall, of Texas, analyzed the Senate as a body tied at thirty-four to thirty-four with a Republican Vice President wielding the deciding vote, while Iverson, of Georgia, forecast Republican control of both Houses within two years. *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 49, 75. On the other hand, these estimates were not accepted as sound by Southerners generally.

erners "can rely with perfect safety upon the Legislative and Judiciary arms of the Government, and laugh at the impotency of an unfriendly Executive".<sup>39</sup> A cotton planter and owner of three hundred slaves added, "President Lincoln can do no harm to the South, nor to the country, as a mere Executive officer of the Government, were he ever so much inclined to do so".<sup>40</sup>

Moreover, the political history of the *ante bellum* period seemed to Southern Unionists like Alexander H. Stephens to furnish evidence that the Southern states would probably continue to wield an influence far beyond their numerical importance. There had been sixty years of Southern Presidents to twenty-four of Northern administrators; eighteen Supreme Court justices from the South to eleven from the North, despite the fact that four-fifths of the judicial business had arisen in the free states; twenty-three Southern Speakers of the House to twelve from the North; while a similar preponderance was found in every branch of the government despite the fact that the South had only one-half as many whites to draw upon. Southern continuance in the Union augured concessions that would have continued many of these advantages.

While many Southern disunionists refused to acknowledge any practical difference between a "black Republican" and a radical abolitionist and at times professed a greater respect for the superior honesty and decency of the latter, some tested Union men frankly declared their fears that the abolitionist minority within the Republican party might rapidly by persistent agitation win over the vast body of the party and undermine the conservative antislavery ground defined at the Chicago Convention. Alexander H. Stephens, later vice president of the Southern Confederacy, assured President-elect Lincoln that the people of the South in his judgment did "not entertain any fears that a Republican Administration, or at least the one about to be inaugurated, would attempt to interfere directly and immediately with slavery in the States". On the other hand, he pointed out that the triumphant party had made the subject of slavery, which was conceded by all to be outside the constitutional action of the Federal government, the "central idea" in a platform of principles which aimed "to put the institutions of nearly half the States under the ban of public opinion and national condemnation". That men combined themselves into such a party was not

<sup>39</sup> Nashville *Republican Banner*, Nov. 9, 1860. See also Vicksburg *Whig*, in *National Intelligencer*, Nov. 21, 1860.

<sup>40</sup> *National Intelligencer*, Nov. 13, 1860. Even an ardent secessionist like Joseph W. Taylor, of Alabama, could admit that the administration of Lincoln would be unable "to inflict any injury upon the South, or to violate any of its constitutional rights". *Ibid.*, Dec. 18, 1860, citing *Alabama Whig*, Dec. 6, 1860.

the work of reason or justice, but of fanaticism, "and when men come under the influence of fanaticism, there is no telling where their impulses or passions may drive them. This is what creates our discontent and apprehension." Or, as the Reverend B. M. Palmer put it: "However mixed the party, abolitionism is clearly its informing and actuating soul; and fanaticism is a blood-hound that never bolts its track when it has once lapped blood."<sup>41</sup>

It is very difficult to appraise the exact influence in the Republican party of the professed abolitionists. Although moderate political abolitionists, like Owen Lovejoy of Illinois, had locally contributed much to the beginnings—sometimes abortive beginnings—of the Republican party, few of the veteran defenders of the faith were in any way satisfied with the new party movement. The Garrisonian idealists completely ignored the early phases of Republicanism; later they noticed it only to vent their scorn upon it. "By its own showing", declared one of their spokesmen, "it is not an anti-slavery, but merely an anti-slavery-extension party. . . . Instead of endangering the existence of slavery, it pledges itself to conserve and perpetuate the barbarous and bloody system, wherever, by force or fraud, it has succeeded in gaining a foothold. . . . We are apprehensive that little reliance can be placed upon this new party, even as an opponent of slavery-extension. It enters the field, pledged to act only on the defensive. . . . The party that shall make an effectual and final stand against slavery aggression must be itself aggressive."<sup>42</sup> Many Garrisonians felt that even the political abolitionists were among "the greatest obstacles to the spread of anti-slavery". Parker Pillsbury shortly declared that the temporizing and compromising attitude of the Republican party and its leaders, especially their willingness to coöperate with slaveholders, made the movement for the time "*really* more dangerous to the cause of liberty . . . than any other party ever formed since the foundations of government were laid". It was not long before abolitionists and Republicans were indulging in mutual crimination and recrimination. When in 1860 the Republicans drew up the Chicago platform, the apostles of abolition promptly announced that the document which "no where pronounces slaveholding, slave-hunting or slave-breeding a sin" was proof of "how unable or unwilling the leaders of the party are to appreciate the genius of genuine liberty, and how utterly unworthy to be entrusted with its interests".<sup>43</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Cleveland, *Alexander H. Stephens in Public and Private*, pp. 151-153. Palmer, *The South: her Peril and her Duty*, p. 13.

<sup>42</sup> *American Baptist*, in *Liberator*, Mar. 28, 1856, XXVI. 50.

<sup>43</sup> *Liberator*, Mar. 28, 1856, XXVI. 51; June 5, 1857, XXVII. 90; Aug. 31, 1860, XXX. 139.



With the nomination of Lincoln, Phillips voiced the disappointment and disgust of many Garrisonians when he declared: "We cannot afford . . . to let Mr. Lincoln succeed, because, if he should, the country will say, 'The North has got the helm, let us see what the North is ready to do—wait!'—and we shall have four years of waiting, to see what Abe Lincoln won't do!" Garrison editorially "gibbeted" Lincoln as the "slave-hound of Illinois". Nor were the political abolitionists, less schooled perhaps in intransigence, much more satisfied. A movement for the nomination of a straight-out Abolition ticket was engineered which culminated in a convention at Syracuse, on August 29, where Gerrit Smith was nominated for the Presidency, and a resolution adopted: "That for Abolitionists to vote for a candidate like Abraham Lincoln, who stands ready to execute the accursed Fugitive Slave Law, to suppress insurrections among slaves, to admit new slave States, and to support the ostracism, socially and politically, of the black man of the North, is to give the lie to their professions, to expose their hypocrisy to the world, and to do what they can to put far off the day of the slave's deliverance."<sup>44</sup> It can hardly be contended, therefore, that the veterans of the abolition movement looked toward Lincoln's administration as their great opportunity for speeding the day of fulfillment.

It must be said, however, that doctrinaires like Wendell Phillips, at times reversing their logic, argued that in spite of milk and water nonextension and union-loving resolutions and pronouncements, "the Republican party, so far as it has a heart, means to grapple slavery, and to strangle it, so soon as they can". In the day when Seward's nomination seemed a foregone conclusion, he added that, despite Seward's conservative protestations, "when Wm. H. Seward enters the Presidential chair, he means that his portrait, if it lives to posterity, shall go down painted with one hand upon the American eagle, and the other on the jugular vein of the slave system. The fault I find with Republicans is, that they are such children . . . as to suppose that, with their past behind them, and with their future looking out of their eyes, the slaveholder or the abolitionist either believes the lies that they call speeches."<sup>45</sup> Nor did he hesitate to announce that under an antislavery régime, with the Constitution given an antislavery interpretation, "neither my friend Mr. Garrison nor myself might find any conscientious scruples against voting". When on November 7 the telegraph announced Lincoln's election as an accomplished fact, Phillips rejoiced that "for the first time in

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, June 8, 1860, XXX. 89; June 22, 1860, XXX. 99; Sept. 7, 1860, XXX. 142.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, May 18, 1860, XXX. 79.

our history the *slave* has chosen a President of the United States. . . . It is the moral effect of this victory", he explained, "not anything which his administration can or will probably do, that gives value to this success. Not an Abolitionist, hardly an antislavery man, Mr. Lincoln consents to represent an antislavery idea. A pawn on the political chessboard, his value is in his position; with fair effort, we may soon change him for knight, bishop, or queen, and sweep the board. . . . [The] cannon of March 4th will only echo the rifles at Harper's Ferry." <sup>46</sup>

Conceding, however, that radical antislavery influences were patiently biding their time and would have found in Northern control at Washington a new dispensation, one must also remember that it was only the storm and stress of civil strife that later gave to them their real opportunity, as a result of which the Thirteenth Amendment became not the proposed guarantee of the institution of slavery but the final stroke in its destruction.

Under the normal conditions of a peaceful Republican administration, genuine abolitionists would have found themselves unable to make substantial headway with their crusade. The tide of the antislavery movement had been diluting the abolition gospel into mere nonextension doctrine. In the year of the John Brown raid the receipts of the American Anti-Slavery Society fell off nearly two-thirds. "In truth", writes Jefferson Davis's latest Southern biographer, ". . . the rabid abolitionist had been put out of commission." <sup>47</sup> As the campaign of 1860 drew near Republican leaders generally became opportunists and denied that they stood on extreme antislavery ground. This was conspicuous of the position of both Seward and Lincoln. The Republican convention at Chicago was dominated by the spirit of opportunism. To a Southerner of to-day the platform seems a "document not unlike the teachings of Henry Clay and the Whigs". <sup>48</sup> Indeed, Joshua R. Giddings was temporarily driven from the convention in sorrow and anger when his

<sup>46</sup> Wendell Phillips, *Speeches, Lectures, and Letters*, p. 294.

<sup>47</sup> Robert W. Winston, *The Life of Jefferson Davis*, p. 172. Henry Ward Beecher was greeted with a volley of rotten eggs and a hostile demonstration during a lecture engagement at New Haven. *New York Herald*, Jan. 14, 1861. Abolitionists had difficulty in arranging for the use of public halls for their meetings. *Ibid.*, Dec. 4, 1860; Jan. 15, 1861. For abolitionist comment upon how the Republican party's antislavery stand was "demoralized by its efforts to obtain supremacy in the country", see *Liberator*, Feb. 3, 1860, XXX. 18; also, June 1, 1860, XXX. 85. Wendell Phillips admitted in 1861 that "at the outset nine men out of ten were proud to be called abolitionists; now, nine out of ten deem it not only an insult, but a pecuniary injury to be charged with being so". *Liberator*, Jan. 25, 1861, XXXI. 14.

<sup>48</sup> Winston, p. 145.

resolution to include the clause of the Declaration of Independence affirming the equality of man was at first rudely spurned by sarcastic delegates who feared the ghost of abolitionism. Lincoln's nomination was in the main an effort to avoid too strongly sectional ground; his election, as Senator Pugh, of Ohio, shortly pointed out, was made possible by votes of thousands who had no thoughts "about the subject of slavery in the States, or had any policy on the subject".<sup>49</sup> Lincoln's election, indeed, hinged upon the outcome in Pennsylvania, where, as the evidence shows, the tariff question was the decisive issue; both parties accordingly poured money into the state in order to influence a favorable outcome.

Following the election an even more conservative trend set in. Lincoln felt its pressure from the ranks of his own party as he made preparations to assume the reins of office.<sup>50</sup> The New York *Herald* of December 4, 1860, rejoiced in the evidence that Republican leaders were "ready now for terms of compromise with the South, which every Republican a month ago would have scouted as degrading to the most servile Northern doughface". Seward and Weed and hundreds of others, indeed, talked of the patriotic duty of making concessions in the interest of preservation of the Union. Lincoln stood firmly against compromise on slavery extension; on the other hand, at a time when leaders of his party were trying to effect the admission of New Mexico as a free state, he did not "care much about New Mexico, if further extension were hedged against".<sup>51</sup> He was anxious to satisfy the South on the matter of the rendition of fugitive slaves; he took satisfaction in the fact that there was a general movement in the Northern state legislatures to effect the repeal of the Personal Liberty Laws of which the South had been so bitterly complaining. Moreover, as he pointed out in the addresses he delivered on his tour to the national capital, he meant to make his policies as President reflect national and not partisan interests—he meant to be just to the South, as to the other sections of the country. If there were those who feared that he would be dominated by the radicals, he made it clear to the latter as well as to those who inclined toward compromise, that he could stand his own ground and would not tolerate domination by others.

Up to the war, conservative forces remained strongly intrenched

<sup>49</sup> George W. Julian, *The Life of Joshua R. Giddings*, pp. 372-374. *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 sess., p. 51.

<sup>50</sup> See *Letters of Henry Adams, 1858-1891*, Worthington C. Ford, ed., pp. 62, 64, 66-67, 70, 83. See also Henry Adams, *The Secession Winter, 1860-61*, in Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, XLIII. 669, 676, 680, 683-684.

<sup>51</sup> Lincoln to Seward, Feb. 1, 1861, *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, VI. 104.



in the North; a zealous concern for the rights of private property made thousands of "Northern men with Southern principles". Northern proslavery preachers and editors therefore outdid many of their Southern *confrères* in the defense of slavery, denouncing the abolitionists as apostles of atheism and anarchy and proclaiming that the institution of chattel slavery had the sanction of Holy Writ. When the crisis came, the secessionists counted upon Northern sympathizers to restrain those who would try to prevent disunion by force. Even after Jefferson Davis took his departure from Washington, he knew that he could claim the sympathy of Northern friends like Franklin Pierce and George W. Jones and assumed that they would never be found among his enemies.<sup>52</sup> These were bonds that weakened only under the searing experiences of civil war.

Then, too, Northern vested interests could have been counted as in favor of the *status quo* of slavery. It was quite obvious that the business interests of Philadelphia and New York were bound up with the economic life of the cotton states. New York, the chief broker of Southern cotton, seemed in many ways "a prolongation of the South".<sup>53</sup> There were some who extravagantly pointed out that with the loss of Southern trade, the great metropolis would be "no more than a fishing village".<sup>54</sup> As the crisis approached, Wall Street cried out: "Without the South we are ruined!"<sup>55</sup> So also orders from the South played an important rôle in the economic life of Boston. The *Boston Post* reckoned the annual sales of New England products to the South at \$60,000,000, besides the impetus given to New England shipbuilding by the Southern trade. "In every point of view", declared the *Post*, "New England seems to have been made for the South, and the South for New England. How could either live and flourish without the other."<sup>56</sup> The counting houses of State Street, in the mother city of the Puritans, seemed to set a conspicuous example of groveling servility to "King Cotton".

Certain representatives of Northern capital had been and still were favorable even to the restoration of the foreign slave trade as agitated in the South. Many of them listened with approval to the Southern argument that the result would be cheaper slave products and an increased market with better prices for Northern manufac-

<sup>52</sup> Dunbar Rowland, *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist: his Letters, Papers, and Speeches*, III. 358, V. 38-39.

<sup>53</sup> Agénor de Gasparin, *The Uprising of a Great People*, pp. 76-77, 162.

<sup>54</sup> *Newark Mercury*, Feb. 11, 1861, quoted in Knapp, *A History of New Jersey Politics during the Civil War and Reconstruction*, p. 52.

<sup>55</sup> C. C. Hopley, *Life in the South*, I. 140.

<sup>56</sup> *Boston Post*, Dec. 21, 1859.

tures. Numerous vessels were actually fitted out in Northern ports to harvest the direct profits of this illegal trade.<sup>57</sup>

With Lincoln's election the moneyed interests of the North, hysterical at the thought of secession, favored preservation of the Union at any price. But political disruption itself was to many less menacing a specter than the resulting impending bankruptcy which they coupled with forfeiture of Southern debts.<sup>58</sup> For there was owing upon the books of Northern merchants and bankers a Southern debt of two or three hundred millions of dollars; nor was there any evidence of a disposition to pay these obligations which now rapidly fell due. Indeed, as Southerners beheld the utter terror of Northern creditors at the mere thought of repudiation, disunion began to offer even more tangible attractions to some than mere relief from an historic economic exploitation and a timeworn moral crusade.<sup>59</sup> Northern argument that the South was not really in earnest, that talk of disunion was an ancient brand of bluff and braggadocio, and that the repudiation could easily be met by confiscation of Southern property in Northern states, did not relieve the fears of Northern conservatives.

Loudly in petitions and mass meetings the spokesmen of Northern capital begged for the acceptance of a scheme of compromise that would satisfy the South and save the Union. Lincoln was never quite sure until he entered office that the Eastern leaders of his own party could be kept from yielding to such entreaties. When in due time the lower tier of Southern states effected their withdrawal from the Union and Lincoln assumed the reins of administration at the

<sup>57</sup> De Gasparin, *The Uprising of a Great People*, p. 31; Henry Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, II. 618-619; see also *Baton Rouge Advocate*, in *Chicago Press*, Apr. 26, 1858; *De Bow's Review*, XXVI. (1859) 144-146; *New York Tribune*, Sept. 8, 1860; *New York Herald*, Dec. 11, 1860. See also *National Era*, June 10, 1847.

<sup>58</sup> *New York Herald*, Nov. 29, Dec. 10, 1860; *Springfield Republican*, Nov. 17, 24, 1860.

<sup>59</sup> *De Bow's Review*, XXXI. (1861) 93. The *New Orleans True Delta*, Nov. 20, 1860, proclaimed "the repudiation of our just debts to the people of the free states" to be important among the inducements "we daily hear and see addressed to the cupidity of men". Under the argument advanced by journals like the *Clayton (Ala.) Banner*, that it was "treason to the South to pay money, or in any manner encourage, aid, or abet the transfer to the hostile section of so important a weapon of attack and defense", many were induced to favor a general smash-up that would wipe out their liabilities to Northern creditors. *New York Tribune*, Dec. 28, 1860; William Watson, *Life in the Confederate Army*, p. 71. On the other hand, the Vicksburg correspondent of the *New York Herald* wrote: "Repudiation of Northern debts is entertained by none, but it is generally believed the liquidation of such indebtedness will be much slower than ever before." *New York Herald*, Dec. 1, 1860.

most trying time in the nation's history, "the upper world of millionaire merchants, bankers, contractors, and great traders" rejoiced that the Republicans were at length suffering "for their excesses".<sup>60</sup> It was only later that the cohesive force of public plunder, with the new war-time opportunities for the vested interests of the North, drew many of these erstwhile critics into the ranks of the government's supporters and defenders.

But even within the Republican party of 1860 there were many who had been schooled in the conservative politics of the Whig party.<sup>61</sup> Northern men of property, regardless of antislavery convictions, were in a large degree prone to respect property rights in slaves, guaranteed by the Constitution and the laws of the states. Such an one was William H. Seward, of "Higher Law" fame, the "arch black Republican" in the Southern mind. Even the passions of war time did not prevent him from offering a conspicuous example of the conservative influence of the Whig property holding tradition. He became, indeed, the chief supporter of Lincoln's cautious anti-slavery policy and the bane of the war-time crop of abolitionists who impatiently belabored the administration for failing to respond to their demands for the immediate destruction of slavery. If all Republicans with the same background did not follow in Seward's footsteps, it was largely because of a war psychosis which made abolitionists out of Democrats like Benjamin F. Butler, John A. Logan, and Edwin M. Stanton, out of Southern Whigs like Henry Winter Davis and William G. Brownlow, and out of Southern sympathizers like General W. T. Sherman.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Russell, *My Diary, North and South*, p. 21.

<sup>61</sup> "The old whig party is not dead, but has been sleeping", commented the editor of the *New York Herald*, Dec. 3, 1860. "Senators Seward, Wilson, Wade and Sumner are restraining their followers by every means in their power."

Wendell Phillips intimated that Seward had succumbed to the most sinister and corrupt Wall Street influences. *Liberator*, Apr. 13, 1860, XXX. 57.

<sup>62</sup> A typical example of the way the war psychosis operated may be seen in the case of Franklin A. Buck, a red-blooded Yankee from Maine who sought his fortune in the Far West. Originally a "Cotton" Whig, with aspirations to own "a plantation and about one hundred slaves", he hated the abolitionists and all their works and suggested that their fanaticism would bring civil war between the North and South. He opposed the Republican party till secession and then war. A year after Lincoln's election he still held that Theodore Parker and Charles Sumner were "as much enemies of the Constitution and the Union as Jeff Davis and the rest and should be hung together". Another year passed and with it came Lincoln's emancipation policy. Then came a new note: "I hope the War will be prosecuted and I am willing to do my part toward prosecuting it, to the end, till the South is conquered, annihilated, made a desert of, if need be. I would accept no terms of peace but unconditional surrender." *A Yankee Trader in the Gold Rush: the Letters of Franklin A. Buck*, Katherine A. White, ed., pp. 119, 148-149, 191, 193-194.



This Northern general of hated memory in the South had learned to know and love Dixie, in various parts of which he had enjoyed several years of army life and of Southern hospitality and into the soil of which he was just deciding on the eve of the war that "we will drive our tent pins and pick out a magnolia under which to sleep the long sleep".<sup>63</sup> He had concluded that, under the generous ministrations of his planter friends, slavery was as satisfactory to the negroes as to their masters. But when the flaming sword of civil war beckoned him into the service of the Union, he promptly prepared himself to apply a new brand of ruthless warfare to his former friends and neighbors. It is only fair to recall that this transformation was wrought not by Lincoln's election but by the issue of disunion.

Yet there could be no doubt in the South that the purpose of the Republican party, reasserted as a matter of personal policy by Abraham Lincoln, was to hem in the institution of slavery within its present bounds. Differing opinions prevailed in the South as to the practical effect of such a policy. The New Orleans *Bee* protested the Republican arrogation of power "to keep it chained, cribbed, confined within the States where it now exists", but this evil could be made to appear duly menacing only when it was presented as grounded upon a "Higher Law" doctrine—"one which is to annihilate Congressional enactments and to override the Constitution itself". Judah P. Benjamin, the Louisiana senator, however, insisted that nonextension was a most diabolical threat to the institution of slavery. Said he, with changing metaphor: "You do not propose to enter into our States, you say, and what do we complain of? You do not pretend to enter into our States to kill or destroy our institutions by force. Oh, no[.] You imitate the faith of Rhadamistus: you propose simply to close us in an embrace that will suffocate us. You do not propose to fell the tree; you promised not. You merely propose to girdle it, that it dies."<sup>64</sup>

The consequences that might have followed from a thorough-going policy of encircling the slave states with free territory are not so obvious as might at first appear. The hemming in of the slave states might have prevented the border states from being drained of their slave population with the resultant lessening of their enthusiasm for slavery. Keeping the slaves within the bounds of the black belt as already defined might have prevented the mounting of slave prices to exorbitant figures and that weakening by dispersion

<sup>63</sup> *Home Letters of General Sherman*, M. A. DeWolfe Howe, ed., p. 177.

<sup>64</sup> New Orleans *Bee*, Jan. 19, 1861. *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 sess., p. 217.

of which Clay and other Southerners had talked much in the days of the Missouri contest.<sup>65</sup> In general, the actual importance of territorial expansion for the negro-slave-plantation economy has been much overestimated in almost all discussions of the sectional controversy. In any event, as Webster pointed out in 1850, a more inexorable law than any that might have been enacted by a Republican Congress confined negro slavery within its present bounds, namely the law of nature.

Southerners in general were in agreement upon the doctrine originally proclaimed by John C. Calhoun that the exclusion of slavery from the common territories meant a "defiance of right and justice and of the spirit of our fundamental law"—thus the former critic of sublimated abstractions came to put it.<sup>66</sup> Indeed, this was a cardinal point in the Southern code of honor. In 1850, when he was still a staunch defender of the Union, Robert A. Toombs had dramatically proclaimed the right of the South to an equal participation in the territories of the United States: "In my judgment, this right, involving, as it does, political equality, is worth a thousand such Unions as we have, even if they each were a thousand times more valuable than this. . . . Deprive us of this right and appropriate this common property to yourselves, it is then your government, not mine. Then I am its enemy, and I will then, if I can, bring my children and my constituents to the altar of liberty, and like Hamilcar, I would swear them to eternal hostility to your foul domination."<sup>67</sup> The ten years that followed Toombs's brilliant "Hamilcar Speech" made this point of Southern honor one of the most fundamental of the sublimated abstractions of the disunionists.

Indeed, all that the Southerner of 1860 had to cherish beyond dreams of more territory in favoring climes was this point of pride. Every effort on the part of the North to reaffirm an ordinance of nature that excluded slavery from all existing territories was a gratuitous and galling reminder to the sensitive Southron of the shift of political power to the North. In the last analysis this was the clew to the sectionalism of the South in the three decades before the war: a consciousness of its status as a minority section, safe from the oppression of the majority only in the event of the unwillingness of the latter to exploit its opportunities. A Virginia journal stated a widespread feeling when it declared: "We were not born to be mastered, nor to submit to inferior position."<sup>68</sup>

<sup>65</sup> On the danger of this "draining process", see letter of James H. Brigham, *De Bow's Review*, XXVI. (1859) 482.

<sup>66</sup> *Nashville Republican Banner*, May 12, 1861.

<sup>67</sup> *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., p. 1216.

<sup>68</sup> *Clark County Journal*, Nov. 9, in *New York Tribune*, Nov. 13, 1860.

The "fire eater" or "chivalry" politician insisted that the preponderating North had not been neglecting its opportunities and that the South had suffered only too patiently. "The South, is nothing else now, but the very best colony to the North any people ever possessed", insisted R. Barnwell Rhett, of South Carolina, from the floor of the United States Senate.<sup>69</sup> With a reminiscence of 1776, the *Southern Press*, mouthpiece of Southern sentiment at Washington, declared, "Lord North caused that disunion. We have a Lord North now." Many in Dixie seemed more impressed by fire eating and gasconade than by the simple logic of sober thinkers like Willoughby Newton, a former Whig Congressman from Virginia, who in 1858 assured the literary societies of the Virginia Military Institute that the real question for the South had become "not whether power is usurped by the majority, but whether the Constitution itself has not become effete"; or, as the editor commented, "... not whether any aggression has been committed, or is in process of commission, by the preponderating North, but whether, by the mere fact of such preponderance, the Constitution itself has not become null and void".<sup>70</sup>

This was straight but drastic thinking. The South, obsessed by what to-day is known as an inferiority complex and groping for "defense mechanisms", naturally preferred sublimated abstractions. Southerners had long since become acutely sensitive to what Senator Judah P. Benjamin, of Louisiana, called "the incessant attack of the Republicans, not simply on the interests, but on the feelings and sensibilities of a high-spirited people by the most insulting language, and the most offensive epithets".<sup>71</sup> This is not to be wondered at when even a zealous young Northern army officer stationed at Washington grew disgusted as he heard Northern spokesmen "proclaim the superiority of the North in jurists, men of science, historians, orators, merchants, mechanics, philanthropists, schools and general intelligence". "Every speech of the Northern Senators", it seemed to him, "had something deprecatory in it, and that at a time when all the powers of the Government were in the hands of Southern men."<sup>72</sup> When the reins of power were about to be snatched from the South, there was even less to palliate the sense of insult.

Working themselves into a veritable passion, proud Southerners

<sup>69</sup> *Congressional Globe*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., app., p. 46.

<sup>70</sup> *Southern Press*, July 4, 1851. *National Intelligencer*, July. 24, 1858. On the minority status of the South, see Jesse T. Carpenter, *The South as a Conscious Minority, 1789-1861*, p. 25; also, Edward A. Pollard, *The Lost Cause*, p. 62.

<sup>71</sup> *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 sess., p. 212.

<sup>72</sup> E. D. Keyes, *Fifty Years' Observation*, p. 425.



aired their hatred of the North and appealed to Southern manhood against the threat of negro domination. The "treason" of Hinton Rowan Helper in producing his *Impending Crisis*, thereby placing a powerful array of propaganda in the hands of Republicans, infuriated the hotspurs. They proclaimed their fears that the patronage of a Republican administration would be used to carry out the doctrines of the Helper book, and thereby create an antislavery party among the non-slaveholders of the South, at the same time sowing the seeds of disaffection among the negroes. The John Brown raid made possible soul-stirring appeals against a Northern fanaticism that would seize upon the weapon of servile insurrection, which, to be sure, like the idea of a political revolt by the non-slaveholders, Southern champions had previously ridiculed as impossible. But the fears of the common man were carefully played upon. The aim of the abolitionists was clear, it was said—and the label "abolitionist" was made to include the most moderate Republicans—they would free the slaves and destroy the poor white men.<sup>73</sup> As Senator Benjamin F. Wade, of Ohio, shortly explained, repeated protest had availed little against the charge that Republicans were hostile to slavery and meditating an attack upon it; "Your people believe it", he said. "No doubt they believe it because of the terrible excitement and reign of terror that prevails there."<sup>74</sup>

During the campaign of 1860 wild rumors spread of a series of slave risings in Texas with poison plots and towns aflame. The South was panic-stricken. "If Texas is burning even under the Buchanan administration, what would it be if a 'higher law' government reigns in the city of Washington?" queried William L. Yancey. Some Southerners were soon picturing Lincoln as one who a short time before his nomination had been "a hired Abolition lecturer, delivering, at \$100 a lecture, lectures throughout the country, exciting the people against us".<sup>75</sup>

Since secession, simply because of defeat, was unthinkable, and since slavery extension was a poor issue on which to found a new government, therefore out of their bitterness, the disunionists conjured up the boggy of abolition, together with negro equality and negro domination. Then as the tide turned in favor of the advocates of secession, policies that had been denounced by their conservative neighbors in 1850-1851 as treason, became acceptable as the truest Southern patriotism.

<sup>73</sup> See New York *Herald*, Dec. 10, 1860; John W. Thomason, jr., *Jeb Stuart*, p. 57.

<sup>74</sup> *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 sess., p. 104.

<sup>75</sup> New York *Herald*, Sept. 21, 1860. *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 sess., p. 73.

Debates in Congress became in this time of sectional strife "chiefly invective and fierce recrimination". "All reasonable discussion of principle ceased to be possible", Reuben Davis, of Mississippi, wrote somewhat later, telling how Southern members returned home with long-range guns they had purchased.<sup>76</sup> Southern fire eaters admitted a deep and deadly hatred of the North. It was clear that the most moderately antislavery Northerner was not safe in the South. Southern Union men remained for a time silently aghast at the madness that had taken possession of their section. Already, as members of Congress clenched and at times let fly their fists in defense of Southern honor, there were signs of what Jonathan Worth, the North Carolina Unionist, later complained: "Nobody is allowed to retain and assert his reason. The cartridge box is preferred to the ballot box."<sup>77</sup> Under such conditions it was easy for Alexander H. Stephens to predict after the Charleston Democratic Convention that "men will be cutting one another's throats in a little while. In less than twelve months we shall be in a war, and that the bloodiest in history. Men seem to be utterly blinded to the future."<sup>78</sup> Perhaps it was not strange that under these circumstances an alert and passionate young Yankee promptly reached the conclusion that the Southerners were "mad, mere maniacs", "beyond all imagination demented", an impression which he restated forty-seven years later, when youthful impetuosity should have subsided, as follows: "The southern secessionists were certainly unbalanced in mind,—fit for medical treatment, like other victims of hallucination,—haunted by suspicion, by *idées fixes*, by violent morbid excitement."<sup>79</sup>

As Edward A. Pollard reviewed the "Lost Cause" in the disillusioning light of the early *post bellum* years, he summed up the forces which had brought about the war as follows:

<sup>76</sup> Reuben Davis, *Recollections of Mississippi and Mississippians*, pp. 382, 389.

<sup>77</sup> *The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, J. G. de R. Hamilton, ed., I. 149. But even the erstwhile sane Worth, when he threw in his lot with his state, could toy with the possibility that Lincoln "desired to drive us all into rebellion, in order to make a crusade against slavery and desolate our section". *Ibid.*, I. 147. This doubt arose although he had been quite clear that, "Slavery thus far, has been only a *pretext* for this sectional contest. The multitude, North and South, regard it as the cause." *Ibid.*, I. 142.

<sup>78</sup> R. M. Johnston and W. H. Browne, *Life of Alexander H. Stephens*, p. 355; Louis Pendleton, *Alexander H. Stephens*, pp. 155-156. See also his speech at Augusta, *National Intelligencer*, Sept. 12, 1860.

<sup>79</sup> *Letters of Henry Adams, 1858-1891*, p. 77; Henry Adams, *The Secession Winter, 1860-61*, *op. cit.*, pp. 658-661. This certainly seemed true of the *Mobile Herald* when it branded James Gordon Bennett of the *New York Herald* as the "head chief of the Abolitionists". See *Liberator*, Apr. 6, 1860, XXX. 55.

The election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency of the United States might have precipitated the Secessionary movement of the Southern States; but it certainly did not produce it. . . . Every candid historian must admit that the causes of Southern complaint had accumulated up to the time of President Lincoln, and that the election of this man was to a certain extent, the signal of the aggravated prosecution of the irrepressible conflict, which he himself had declared, between the institutions of the South and the ideas of the North. . . . The mind of the South had really come to disdain specifications on this subject [slavery]. It suffered from a general apprehension rather than a specific alarm; and the election of Abraham Lincoln was a vague addition to this uneasiness rather than a particular cause of complaint.<sup>80</sup>

As R. Barnwell Rhett had put it, in an address at the opening session of the South Carolina convention, secession was "not the event of a day"; it was "not anything produced by Mr. Lincoln's election, or by the non-execution of the fugitive slave law. It has been a matter which has been gathering head for thirty years".<sup>81</sup> In the same way William Lowndes Yancey, Rhett's associate in the movement for Southern nationality, regarded the issues of 1860-1861 as false, or at least inferior, issues; the real issue had been joined ten years before when the Southern states had been denied equality in the territories.<sup>82</sup>

It remained, however, for a gentleman and scholar of a later generation to present the full state of mind of the aggrieved South. Says Benjamin's biographer: "it was not so much what the Republicans or even the Abolitionists . . . had done or might do that wrought them to the pitch of frenzy and vicious, uncontrollable rage against the North; it was the things they said, and very horrid things they were, that galled. Nay, even if the North did not speak, she thought these things; and, half-conscious of being on the defensive, with the opinion of the civilized world against her, the South could not bear to be so regarded. Unless one has personally experienced that sort of utterly childish and yet wholly human temper, one can hardly account for Southern feeling."<sup>83</sup>

Much of the aggressiveness of the champions of 1860-1861 was the result of an effort to find compensation for this wounded pride. "Southern honor" was at stake; in its behalf there could be no excess of zeal. "The war would not have occurred, slavery could not have been abolished", writes one of those who risked all in

<sup>80</sup> Edward A. Pollard, *Life of Jefferson Davis*, pp. 43, 53, 54; see also Pollard, *The Lost Cause*, pp. 47-48.

<sup>81</sup> Pollard, *Life of Jefferson Davis*, p. 45. See also *National Intelligencer*, Jan. 7, 1861; Davis, *Recollections of Mississippi and Mississippians*, p. 389.

<sup>82</sup> W. G. Brown, *The Lower South in American History*, pp. 137-138.

<sup>83</sup> Pierce Butler, *Judah P. Benjamin*, p. 207.



defense of Southern rights, "had the Southerners shown common prudence in meeting and refuting the flood of falsehood and misrepresentation poured out from thousands of Abolition presses. . . . A myriad of printed lies about the South were allowed to pass without any sort of notice, except through the impassioned declamation of public speakers."<sup>84</sup>

Southern spokesmen occasionally argued the proposition later made famous by Alexander H. Stephens, that "African slavery is the corner-stone of the industrial, social, and political fabric of the South; and whatever wars against it, wars against her very existence. Strike down the institution of African slavery, and you reduce the South to depopulation and barbarism".<sup>85</sup> And yet it would seem that this was scarcely the crux of the sectional issue. Southern champions were defending an agrarian civilization against the encroachment of a Northern industrialism, which harbored the menace of a pure democracy against the landed aristocracy which they were building up. As L. W. Spratt, of South Carolina, told the Southern commercial convention of 1859, they beheld hireling labor with "the form and spirit of democracy" penetrate the very strongholds of the South. "And so it is", said he, "that we are not alone in contest with the North, which bears the banners of democracy, but with the democracy itself within the States, the cities, and the institutions of the South."<sup>86</sup> Nor did he think that secession would do more than postpone the internal struggle. These champions found the non-slaveholders unresponsive to their appeals against Northern economic oppression; they had reason, too, to be fearful of arousing the class consciousness of a yeomanry whose coöperation was essential to the maintenance of prevailing institutions. Hence they rejoiced that they could rally their people against the attacks of the antislavery crusaders.<sup>87</sup> Thus, even while many large planters and slaveholders were calmly ignoring the sectional controversy and wanted only to be left alone, non-slaveholders were brought into a state of excitement over slavery, but in their lucid moments they wondered whether it was not "perfectly farcical that the people who

<sup>84</sup> *The Papers of Randolph Abbott Shotwell*, J. G. de R. Hamilton, ed., I. 14.

<sup>85</sup> *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 sess., app., p. 93.

<sup>86</sup> *De Bow's Review*, XXVII. (1859) 208; see also George H. Hepworth, *The Whip, Hoe, and Sword*, p. 74.

<sup>87</sup> "Politically we are the most suspecting, wide-awake people on the face of the globe—economically the most careless and unsuspecting", complained an economically conscious Southerner. *De Bow's Review*, XXIX. (1860), 231. For the actual importance of the tariff question and of Southern economic discontent, see J. G. Van Deusen, *Economic Bases of Disunion in South Carolina*, p. 330; also R. R. Russel, *Economic Aspects of Southern Sectionalism*, *passim*.

own slaves should be perfectly quiet, and we who own none should be lashing ourselves into a rage about their wrongs and injuries?"<sup>88</sup>

The unification of the South around slavery was all the more essential in view of the rapid accentuation of class stratification and the increasing danger, in the form of the appeals of a Helper, of restlessness among those unable to climb into the slaveholding aristocracy. Yet, because of these facts, and in view of the increasingly unsound economics of slave labor, the doom of slavery in the Southern states was sealed more by the social and economic forces that had gained headway in nineteenth century America than by the immediate implications of the political revolution of 1860.

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<sup>88</sup> *Correspondence of Toombs, Stephens, and Cobb*, p. 142.

## NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

### ORIGIN OF THE TWO-THIRDS RULE IN SENATE ACTION UPON TREATIES

THAT portion of the Constitution of the United States which relates to treaty making is found in Article II., section 2, clause 2, and, as is well known, reads as follows: "He [the President] shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur. . . ." Few provisions of the Constitution have been criticized more than that which requires the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members present to give the advice and consent of the Senate to the ratification on the part of the United States of treaties which previously have been negotiated. In recent years, particularly since the rejection of the Treaty of Versailles at the close of the World War, there have been numerous expressions of opinion to the effect that a minority of the Senate should not be permitted to dictate the action taken by that body upon treaties.

In their attacks the critics of the two-thirds rule have taken the occasion to point out that its insertion in the Constitution was largely the result of the precedent which had been established for the approval of treaties, the generally prevailing fear of executive power, and the mutually existing suspicions and jealousies among the individual states. Unquestionably, this general theory is sound. Nevertheless, as has been largely overlooked, the delegates to the Federal Convention acted also from definitely practical considerations when they drew up the treaty-making clause. This paper is an attempt to show that any purely theoretical reasons which may have influenced the adoption of the two-thirds rule were supported by at least two specific aims: the retention of the right to navigate the Mississippi River and the protection of the Newfoundland fisheries.

There is no need to relate in any detail here the story of these two questions prior to 1787. It will suffice merely to call attention to the degree of importance which had been attached to them. Long before the close of the American Revolution the colonists had evinced considerable interest in retaining for themselves after the war was over, their fishing privileges in Newfoundland waters and the right of navigating the Mississippi. The Continental Congress in 1779, it will be recalled, had included these two conditions among



the terms upon which it would consent to make peace. Although the colonists later receded from this extreme stand, the treaty which made them politically independent of Great Britain did permit the navigation of the Mississippi and gave them the liberty of fishing off the Banks of Newfoundland together with numerous in-shore fishing privileges.

These rights thus obtained, however, were none too secure. That was particularly true with regard to the Mississippi, for Spain at once denied to the United States the right to navigate that important stream. Even though the United States never accepted Spain's contention, Congress in 1786, it will be recalled, upon a vote of seven Northern states against five Southern, agreed to permit John Jay, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, to draw up an agreement whereby American rights to the Mississippi should be relinquished for a period of twenty-five years. This arrangement was not concluded; yet when the Federal Convention met the following year the fact that seven states had indicated their willingness to forego for even a comparatively short period the right of navigating the Mississippi was still fresh in the minds of the Southern delegates. They naturally were more interested in this question, while the Northern members were concerned with that of the fisheries. Each section feared that its own particular interest in these two cases might be sacrificed by the treaty method if a mere majority of the senators should be allowed to approve treaties.

The Convention had been in session almost three months when its attention was turned to the question of treaty making. Technically, the clause originated in the Committee of Detail which made its report on August 6.<sup>1</sup> That part embodying the two-thirds rule, however, was not suggested until September 4, when the Committee of Eleven recommended that the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, should have power to make treaties, but that no treaty should be made "without the consent of two thirds of the Members present".

Three days later James Madison moved to amend this part of the report by excepting treaties of peace from the two-thirds requirement. Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, objected. It was his opinion that in the case of peace treaties a greater rather than a smaller proportion of votes was necessary. He gave his reasons as follows:

In Treaties of peace the dearest interests will be at stake, as the fisheries, territories &c. In treaties of peace also there is more danger to the extremities of the Continent, of being sacrificed, than on any other occasions.

<sup>1</sup> *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, Max Farrand, ed., II. 183.

Madison's amendment was accepted; yet just prior to adjournment for the day Hugh Williamson and Richard Spaight, delegates from North Carolina, moved that at least no peace treaty which affected territorial rights should be made except upon a two-thirds vote of the Senate. Rufus King, of Massachusetts, moved to extend this latter motion to include "all present rights of the U. States". No action was taken on these two amendments. On the following day, however, King was successful in having rescinded the original amendment excepting treaties of peace from the two-thirds vote of the Senate. Gouverneur Morris, although opposing King's motion at the time, voiced the opinion of the majority of the delegates when he spoke of the "Fisheries" and the "Mississippi" as the "two great objects of the Union". After deciding not to exclude peace treaties from the operation of the two-thirds requirement the Convention accepted the treaty-making clause in the exact form as reported by the Committee of Eleven.<sup>2</sup> The Committee on Style later recommended the phraseology in which it is still embodied in the Constitution.

These few brief references to the proceedings in the Convention show to a considerable degree the concern felt for the Mississippi and the fisheries in connection with treaty making. Some events transpiring between the time when the meeting at Philadelphia was concluded and that when the Constitution was ratified, however, furnished further, and probably more conclusive, evidence upon the effect which these questions had upon the two-thirds rule. This evidence may be quickly summarized.

The opposition to the Constitution in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia was due in part to the alleged fear that the new government would give up the right to navigate the Mississippi. Writing to Madison in October, 1787, relative to this current opinion, George Washington said in part:

If the subject of the navigation of the Mississippi could have remained as silent, and glided as gently down the stream of time for a while, as the waters do that are contained within the banks, it would, I confess, have comported more with my ideas of sound policy, than any decision that can be come to at this day.

Addressing Henry Knox in March of the following year, Washington stated that in the southern part of Virginia opponents of the Constitution were spreading the belief that the new government "will, without scruple or delay, barter away their rights to navigation of the Mississippi". A resident of the "Western Country" wrote to Thomas Jefferson in August, 1788, that if Kentucky assumed its

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II. 495, 541, 543, 548-549, 550.

independence it probably would not ask for admission into the Union, for, as he stated, its inhabitants were

. . . opposed to the new Constitution apprehending much inconvenience & danger from the Judicial System & fearing that the Powers vested in the General Government may enable [it] to carry into effect the proposed Treaty with Spain relative to the Navigation of the Mississippi.<sup>3</sup>

This general feeling was carried over into the ratifying conventions in the three states mentioned. There the opponents of the proposed new government argued, curiously enough, that under this system, with the representatives of the Southern states absent from the Senate, the senators from five Northern states could give the Senate's approval to a treaty giving up the Mississippi. This rather illogical argument was answered by statements to the effect that it could not be expected that a sufficient number of Southern senators would be absent to permit the Northern members to take this action, when such a momentous question was up for consideration. In other words, one of the main arguments made by those in favor of the Constitution—including several who had helped to frame it—was the assertion that under the system of government being proposed it would be practically impossible by the treaty method to barter away the rights to the Mississippi River.<sup>4</sup> Hugh Williamson, who has been mentioned as a delegate to the Federal Convention from North Carolina, in a letter written to Madison on June 22, 1788, made the positive assertion that the two-thirds rule was inserted in the Constitution to prevent a majority of the Senate from giving up the Mississippi. His letter, in part, was as follows:

Your Recollection must certainly enable you to say that there is a Proviso in the new Sistem which was inserted for the express purpose of preventing a majority of the Senate or of the States which is considered as the same thing from giving up the Mississippi. It is provided that two thirds of the Members present in the senate shall be required to concur in making Treaties and if the southern states attend to their Duty, this will imply  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the States in the Union together with the President, a security rather better than the present 9 States especially as Vermont & the Province of Main may be added to the Eastern Interest and you may recollect that when a Member, Mr Willson objected to this Proviso, saying that in all Gov<sup>ts</sup>. the Majority should govern it was replied that the Navigation of the Mississippi after what had already happened in Con-

<sup>3</sup> Washington to Madison, Oct. 27, 1787, *The Writings of George Washington*, W. C. Ford, ed., XI. 174-176; Washington to Henry Knox, Mar. 30, 1788, *ibid.*, 238-240; John Brown to Jefferson, Aug. 10, 1788, *Documentary History of the Constitution, 1786-1870*, V. 9-11.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *The Debates in the Several Conventions, on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution, as Recommended by the General Convention at Philadelphia, in 1787*, compiled by Jonathan Elliot, III. 239, 301-302, 331-349, 356-361, 364-365; IV. 115-116, 265-268.



gress was not to be risked in the Hands of a meer Majority and the Objection was withdrawn.<sup>5</sup>

No doubt the question of the Mississippi was a more vital one in 1787 than that of the fisheries; but to a large extent the one balanced the other. Although arguing against the Constitution at the time, William Grayson brought out this point before the Virginia convention on June 13, 1788, when he said:

It is well known that the Newfoundland fisheries and the Mississippi are balances for one another; that the possession of one tends to the preservation of the other. This accounts for the eastern policy [during the period of the American Revolution]. They thought that, if the Mississippi was given up, the Southern States would give up the right of the fishery, on which their very existence depends. It is not extraordinary, therefore, while these great rights of the fishery depend on such a variety of circumstances,—the issue of war, the success of negotiations, and numerous other causes,—that they should wish to preserve this great counterbalance.<sup>6</sup>

And, finally, George Mason, a member of the Constitutional Convention, emphasized the connection between the two and their collective effect upon the adoption of the two-thirds rule when addressing the Virginia convention on June 21. Although feeling that under the proposed Constitution the Southern states would not be fully protected in such matters as commerce, navigation, and territories, he said:

The Newfoundland fisheries will require that kind of security which we are now in want of. The Eastern States therefore agreed, at length, that treaties should require the consent of two thirds of the members present in the Senate.<sup>7</sup>

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R. EARL McCLENDON.

#### THE FORD MUSEUM

"WE ought to know more about the families who founded this nation, and how they lived. . . . One way to do this is to reconstruct as nearly as possible the conditions under which they lived. . . .

"Here in Dearborn we are assembling a complete series of every article used or made by the first settlers of America, and in many instances we are extending the series down to the present time. When we are through we shall have reproduced American life and preserved in actual working form at least a part of our history and our tradition.

<sup>5</sup> Williamson to Madison, June 2, 1788, *Documentary History of the Constitution*, IV. 677-679.

<sup>6</sup> Elliot, *Debates*, III. 343.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, III. 604.

"Improvements have been coming so quickly that the past is being lost to the rising generation, and it can be preserved only by putting it in a form where it may be seen and felt. That is the reason behind this collection."

Thus Mr. Henry Ford, as quoted by a writer in *The Mentor*, outlines the scope of an undertaking of such importance to historical students as to warrant the request of the editors of the *American Historical Review* for a note concerning it.

An enthusiastic collector for some years past, Mr. Ford has gathered a great store of the things with which Americans of the past have lived and worked. With this as a nucleus he has established at Dearborn a museum of American life and industry. It has every promise of becoming one of the most notable collections in the world of relics of the everyday life of the past.

Most historical museums emphasize "association pieces"—in other words, articles which are important chiefly because of their connection with notable people or great events. Mr. Ford is by no means averse to including these in his collection, but he has been far more interested in the acquisition of the things which portray the doings of the mass of men as they went about their daily routine of living and working. He wants it to include "all American things, domestic and mechanical". "I do not collect antiques as such. I am collecting the history of our people as written into the things their hands made and used."

The collection is about to be housed in a superb group of buildings erected for the purpose. In the center of five buildings, forming with their connecting arcades a façade eight hundred and fifty feet in length, stands an exact replica of Independence Hall. Back of these is another group of buildings with connecting arcades. These buildings together cover about an acre. In the rear and connecting, is the main museum building, consisting of one great hall eight hundred feet in length by four hundred and fifty in width, its interior broken only by the great columns which support the roof. Impressive, dignified, in every way satisfying, the group constitutes a fitting home for the collection.

The classification of the material thus far made, includes the following subjects: agriculture, mines and metallurgy, house and accessories, home industries and customs, costumes, recreation and amusements, communication and record of ideas, lighting, spinning, weaving, sewing, trade and commerce, timekeeping, medicine and surgery, music, photography, science and education, schools, taverns and inns, peddlers and chapmen, maps and pictures, fire prevention.

forestry and woodworking, horticulture, machine tool and shop practice.

The bulk of the collection hitherto stored in the old tractor plant at Dearborn has recently been moved into the new building, but many months will be required for its arrangement. The objects are so numerous that it is difficult to form any accurate mental picture of the whole. A study of detail is at present impossible, but there are five divisions which are particularly impressive: transportation, lighting, household and kitchen furniture, domestic utensils, and farm implements and machinery.

One of Mr. Ford's first collecting interests was naturally in the field of transportation. He has gathered an example of practically every variety of vehicle used for conveying passengers in America, from the most primitive oxcart, through calashes, gigs, Conestoga wagons, rockaways, buckboards, sulkies, sociables, buggies, stage-coaches, coaches and carriages of many kinds, to the modern and luxurious automobile, and even the latest type of airplane. Sleighs of every type are included as well as every variety of bicycle. Even a horse-drawn street car can be found. Vehicles primarily intended for transporting commodities run their course from the primitive sled to the modern gasoline truck. Traction engines of various types, including the identical ones that Mr. Ford operated as a young man and one which he himself built, are also to be seen.

Household and kitchen furniture, utensils, and equipment, naturally constitute one of the largest, most interesting, and most important parts of the collection. Here is to be found practically every variety of furniture from the most primitive articles of home manufacture to the richest and most elaborate—bedsteads, cradles, chests, bureaus, wardrobes, tables, stools, benches, chairs, sofas, settees, workboxes, trunks, and hatboxes. There is an equal wealth of china and glass; silver, pewter, copper, and brass; knives, forks, and other implements; stoves of every kind; old pictures and prints; clocks and watches; and a unique and marvelously complete collection of lamps and lanterns with all the apparatus for furnishing light, including candlesticks, molds, snuffers, and tinder boxes.

Utensils used in the preservation and preparation of foods form an equally complete section. There are pots, kettles, and pans of myriad forms and kinds—containers ranging from those made of hollowed logs to the most modern sort; churns, milk jars, cheese presses, cider mills, apple parers, and scores of other things, familiar and unfamiliar. There is a charming collection of bottles of all colors, shapes, and sizes. Spinning wheels and looms of every known type bring back the days of home manufacture of textiles,



and the really wonderful assemblage of musical instruments reflects the tastes of the people.

It is practically impossible to name anything used in the home which is not found here. Even mousetraps and bootjacks are here in their infinite variety. Clothes, hats, boots, and shoes aid in the reconstruction of the life of the past.

Farm machinery evolves before our eyes from wooden spades, hoes, mattocks, and plows to the most highly improved implements designed for use with a modern tractor; from the primitive scythe and flail to the modern combined reaper and thresher. Everything is here.

The corresponding evolution from the primitive equipment of the pioneer artisan and mechanic to the finished tools of the present can also be witnessed. There is even a New England colonial lathe, operated by the spring of a seasoned sapling, which is complete in every detail.

The Independence Hall section of the museum will be devoted to articles of the finer sort, illustrating the colonial period in the thirteen original states. The sections on either side will be given over to the use of the Edison Institute of Technology which is planned to have a thousand students.

About the museum building, around a village green, is growing up an interesting group of houses, brought from elsewhere and restored, many of which, such as Edison's first laboratory, are notable for the things which originated in them. An inn, a blacksmith's shop, a gristmill, a sawmill, a drug store, a tintype gallery, a railroad station, a general store, a schoolhouse, are there also, as illustrative of ordinary life and these, too, have their value. All will be regularly operated.

There are unlimited possibilities in Mr. Ford's plan. The museum so splendidly conceived and so well begun may develop into one of the most valuable of historical agencies. But to do this, it will, beyond doubt, be necessary for its founder to have the services of a professional staff, including experts in several fields, directed by a scholar of wide historical and technical knowledge, who has initiative, vision, human sympathies, and interests, and who possesses as well that *sine qua non* of the historian, a penetrating imagination.

J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON.

*The University of North Carolina.*

## DOCUMENTS

### *Shays's Rebellion*

Shays's Rebellion, it is often forgotten, was the culmination of several years of unrest in Massachusetts; particularly was this true in the western part of the state, notably in Hampshire County. As early as 1782 that county was the scene of antigovernment riots, and in April of that year a mob attempted to close the court sitting at Northampton. Major Joseph Hawley, who had been one of the influential leaders in the early Revolutionary movement in Massachusetts, was a resident of Northampton and watched the growing unrest with considerable fear for its possible consequences. In the following letter, which is to be found among the Hawley Papers in the New York Public Library, he wrote to Ephraim Wright, Northampton's representative in the Massachusetts legislature, a vivid account of the conditions underlying this unrest. These conditions in the main held good for several years to come and were partly responsible for the final outburst under Shays in 1786.

*New York City.*

E. FRANCIS BROWN.

Northampton April 16th 178[2]

*Sir*

There are two or three matters which I want to advise you of and I believe you may pay Some respect to my opinion upon them with Safety.

The first is, a great and growing uneasiness in this county, on the account of the Government's Securities being made payable at very distant times, and tho' the Services for which they were given were done long ago yet they can Neither demand the money, for which Such Securities were given at present, nor will the Same Securities answer in Taxes; Old Continental Soldiers who have Such Securities are Taxed to the Ordinary Taxes and also in the Class-rates or Special Taxes for raising New Soldiers, and they cannot get any Money for their own former Services, and you cant hear them Speak of this matter, but in rage and flame, besides there is, as the old three years continentals Say, about three months of their Services, To wit from January to April for which there never has ben any allowance in any way or manner whatever—they are a fierce Set of men, and the Government will find that these People, unless they are Speedily Satisfied on these Two heads will in these parts pay no Taxes and that there will not be men enough here to compel them to it. It appears to me that the Taxes must be made large enough to cover all the Government Securities which are not for moneys or debts which the Creditors have Voluntarily consented and agreed to lend to the Government, let the Tax rise ever so high, and that all Such Securities which have been made and as it were forced on the Government's credi-

tors, be payable and receivable in discharge of Such Taxes: if Such People once make a Stand and absolutely refuse to pay their Taxes, as you may be assured, they are on the point of doing, there is no power Short of the Continental and French Soldiers, which can compel them to it: Other People will do nothing to it, but in that case will refuse to pay their own this opinion of mine is not Wild Conjecture and guessing but the events are at the door, and nothing can prevent them, but the immediate and effectual interposition of the General Court. It Signifys nothing to tell these folks, that their interest will be made Principal and all be made to draw interest, when their Collector is at their doors demanding the hard cash, they immediately burst out in rage and become desperate. I dont talk without Book. I have Seen it with my own eyes and heard it with my own ears. These old Continental men and other Creditors of the Government and who have never received any thing therefor, but worthless Paper Money, and Government Securities, many of which they have been obliged to put off for almost nothing to Sharpers were the men, who defended the Inferior Court last week against the Mobb which Ely brought to town, who would have smashed that court if there was never another court to be held in this county, had it not been for Such Brave fellows, who have been thus treated and are still treated as above by the Government. But you may rely upon it That they are on the Point of turning to the Mobb, and if they are not soon relieved and paid off the value of their Securities either in Money or by their being made to answer for Taxes, they will become outrageous and the Numbers who will side with them will be irresistible. No body can foretell where their rage will light if on our executive court, your Sheriffs and their herds of deputies will be like Stubble before devouring fire. . . .

Another thing the People of this Town clamour extremely about, To wit, that from year to year they raise the full number of Soldiers, that are Set on them and that in due Season, but that many, very many towns in the State raise none or but a Small part of the Proportion Set on them, and that by Some chicanery or other, they get clear of the penalties which by their delinquencies they incurr, and said penalties are never paid or levied—and Some men of character are ready to protest, that they never will pay any thing towards the raising of Soldiers until they see that Such penalties are really and punctually paid or levied—in Such cases if the People had Justice done them, they would heartily assist the Sheriffs in collecting Such fines or penalties, but when they see Such inequalities, Such delays and Such inattention in the Government not to Say any thing worse their hearts sink within them and the People will not Stirr unless it Should be to demolish the very Government which they themselves have Set up.

One thing more I shall mention and that is to Shew the Absolute and pressing need of a New Settlement of fees and upon a new plan and also that the Confession Bill or Something like it Should be immediately established.

At our inferiour Court last week There were Two Hundred and twenty one actions entered, and almost the whole of them were personal actions for the recovery of debts, where the defendant did not at all Contest the debt. It is likely that the Bills of Cost in three quarters of that number of cases, without any appeal will exceed forty shillings. The Jurors attended three days and had but three causes put to them in the whole.



The foregoing account is Strictly True.

I am Sir with greatest respect your most obedient, humble Servant

Joseph Hawley

Ephraim Wright Esq'r.

*Letters of James Ford Rhodes to Edward L. Pierce*

EDWARD L. PIERCE, the biographer of Charles Sumner, placed in the library of Harvard University all or nearly all of the extensive correspondence which he carried on in connection with the preparation of his *Memoir of Charles Sumner*. He also contributed a smaller collection of letters which had come to him in other ways. While delving in the latter collection upon a piece of research I found seventeen letters from James Ford Rhodes to Pierce which had not come to the attention of M. A. DeWolfe Howe when he was preparing his charming and illuminating biography of Rhodes. These letters fill some gaps left by the 150 letters which Mr. Howe has printed in whole or in extract. They are highly characteristic of the man who wrote them. The series runs from May 4, 1893, to October 27, 1895. The six which are here reproduced have been selected as good examples of the seventeen and because they throw considerable light upon Rhodes's methods and his approach to his subject.

*Dartmouth College.*

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

I.

Reservoir Street  
Cambridge, Jan. 23d 1894

*My dear Mr. Pierce*

Yours of Christmas day reached me last week and Mrs. Rhodes and I were glad to have a letter redolent of the Nile up which river we have often longed to go. I hope that when you return we shall have frequently the opportunity to hear of your wanderings. I envy you your stay in Rome. No place in Europe that I have been to appeals to me as strongly as the eternal city. The joys there are without end, for they remain an entrancing memory. How different Jerusalem, Cairo and Rome are from the cities a visit to which I made during the holidays. I went to Oberlin to see James Monroe. I passed a day in Cincinnati with General Cox and an agreeable and profitable day it was. Living as I do just now a good deal of the time back in 1861 it is indeed instructive to go over those days with a guide so admirable as he is. He has a rare combination of political, military, literary and scientific intelligence and his information seems to be at the service of his friends. I believe he has correct military ideas and I like to get at his notions well, as a sort of antidote to the Military Society in Boston to which I belong, which on the whole is so devoted to Thomas as to depreciate Grant and Sherman. We kept pretty closely this time to 1861 and 1862. I had the plan of my conversation mapped out and set down in my note-book so that we were able to stick pretty closely to the text.

From Cincinnati I went to Indianapolis and spent half a day with George W. Julian. He was just recovering from an attack of the grip and did not feel at all well but he was glad to see me and we had quite a pleasant conversation. He told me one or two things about Seward and a circumstance about McClellan and McDowell I was glad to hear. Your ears must have burned for we spoke much of you and he asked me as many questions about you as a Vermont Yankee could have done. I met his daughter, Mrs. Clark.

Carl Schurz was here last week and took lunch with me. The reason I went to see Mr. Monroe was because he is a great admirer of Seward—he was consul to Rio de Janeiro during the war—and we had some correspondence about the matter that made me want to hear him fully, for in studying Seward's actions after he became Secy of State and his diplomacy after the war began I have been led to take a very unfavorable view of him and I wanted a corrective of this. Mr. Monroe had nothing new to tell me; he is a good advocate but it is impossible for an advocate to argue away letters and despatches. To return to Schurz. We discussed Seward and Schurz's views are exactly the same as my own, which gave me confidence, as I feared I was bearing on too hard. We discussed Sumner's influence on the foreign policy of our gov't and both agreed that it was marked, that his ideas during the war were sound, and that he did an immense service to the country; and we were at one that you had in your book exhibited this merit of Sumner in an admirable and forcible manner. With the foreign correspondence you let me take and your book, I think I comprehend fully Sumner's labors in this regard.

I am just now finishing a dissertation on English sentiment and the case of Mason and Slidell. I have found the letters of Bright of great value and have cited large portions of them in my text and my notes: also a part of one of Cobden's letters and one whole letter, which were not printed by Morley. I hope the biography of Bright will hang fire until after my vol. III is published as I should like to be the first to print these letters. I have found other letters of value, parts of which I print, and from reading those I do not use at all, I have obtained a general impression that stands me in good stead. The printing so much of this original material has transcended the limits I had assigned to the subject but I shall curtail somewhere else, as I know so much fresh evidence will give my volume an éclat, it would not otherwise have obtained.

I saw Judge Chamberlain the other day at the meeting of the Massachusetts Hist. Soc. He was full of inquiries about you. He had just been reading Senator Hoar's article on Sumner in the Forum. Schurz is preparing an article on Sumner.

I know Colonel Rand pretty well, having become acquainted with him at the Military Hist. Soc. the monthly meetings of which I rarely miss. I shall not take up the Confederate prison matter until I get to my IV volume. I hope if I do investigate it I shall come out where you think I will. Otherwise I do not believe I should treat the subject as it will not be necessary in the plan of my work.

With best regards to Mrs Pierce, I am

Very truly yours,

(Signed)

James Ford Rhodes

## II.

Reservoir Street,  
Cambridge March 16th, 1894.

*My dear Mr. Pierce,*

Yours of February 11th came duly to hand and we read it with much interest being somewhat amused at your disgust with modern Rome and its visitors as compared with what was seen by Goethe and Sumner. Our courier used to tell us frequently, what indeed the guide-books affirm—that one gets a better notion of the classical remains now than in those days owing to the extent to which the excavations have been carried.

I liked Senator Hoar's article on Sumner very much. Judge Chamberlain criticised severely his reference to Ticknor. I appreciate fully I think how fortunate I was in getting into the Massachusetts Historical Society. I was surprised beyond measure when I got the notice announcing that I had been admitted. I owe this honor to Justin Winsor. Charles Francis Adams backed me up after I had been proposed. I do not know whether Gen. Cox intends to publish his *Reminiscences* while living. As I think I told you he was at work on them when I was in Cincinnati. Mr Schurz had not decided the last time I talked with him whether or not his should be posthumous.

Von Holst has been in Boston and is still there delivering a course of lectures before the Lowell Institute on the French Revolution. I have seen a great deal of him, having met him several times at dinner and also having done what I could to make his stay agreeable. He is a very great man, I am amazed at the depth of his intelligence and his true wisdom. A true product of the culture of a German University, he has enlarged his mind by travel, keen observation and contact with men, so that he is a delightful companion socially as well as a thorough scholar. I have not had so far this calendar year such a delightful experience as from my intercourse with him. I could not help wishing you had been here with us when we broke bread and drank wine together.

We have been glad to see as much as we have of Charles Sumner P. who is a credit to his Father.

I have been going over more of the Sumner correspondence which I got from your house and have a question for a moment of your leisure. A. B. Ely was considerable of a correspondent and in studying the public sentiment of Boston late in 1861 and early 1862 his letters have interested me. Was he in any way a representative man? When Cameron resigned as Secretary of War it was given out, you may remember, it was because he had in his report of December, 1861, taken advanced ground in favor of arming the slaves. Ely writes Sumner in January, 1862 that that was simply a tub thrown to the whale to divert the attention of the public from the corruption in the War department. In that I have no doubt Ely was right. But then he goes on to say that Thad. Stevens said Cameron would make a million out of the War department and he guesses Cameron had done so and Scott (Tom) had made another. Do you suppose Ely saw Stevens and heard him make that remark? That is was he a man accustomed to go to Washington and did he have intercourse with prominent Republican politicians or did he get it out of the newspapers probably? Stevens opposed Cameron's appointment. Of course I know Sumner defended Cameron against the charges touching his political integrity (see *Pierce's Sumner*) but perhaps Ely was nearer right than Sumner, though he was wrong about Scott. Julian says there



is no doubt a lot of the money from the fat contracts went into Cameron's own pockets. Chase blows cold for Cameron in November and hot for him in December, 1861. I have never seen the caution to Grant in the Wilderness campaign of which you speak but I have made a note of it and will search diligently for it when I come to 1864. Have been studying for a fortnight the capture of Fort Donelson. How refreshing to come upon the simplicity and real ability of Grant after the wearisome and inane platitudes of McClellan!

Very truly yours

(Signed)

James Ford Rhodes

III.

Reservoir Street,  
Cambridge. April 20th, 1894.

*My dear Mr. Pierce*

Yours of the 3d came the other day. Thanks for the information about A. B. Ely. That will warrant my using the citation I desire to. You are quite right about Washington gossip and it is not worth much for historical evidence: only where there is much smoke there is some fire and knowing Washington gossip puts you sometimes on the lead to something. Ely however wrote the letter I refer to from the good city of Boston and I have no doubt made a shrewd guess at the truth. (By the way Ely was willing to serve his country at a good salary. Much of his letters to Sumner are taken up with suggestions of that sort.) I have been led, much to my regret, to treat Simon Cameron very harshly. I have arrived at the conclusion that during his administration there was much corruption and speculation and that he awarded contracts rather than his henchmen and followers might make money than for the good of the service. And I mention that the suspicion existed that Cameron himself was not above taking a share of the exorbitant profits. The evidence of what I affirm is clear and full enough. Cameron was dismissed because Congress and the country did not believe his administration of the War department was efficient and honest and not because of the suppressed part of his report which took ground in favor of arming and freeing the slaves. Nevertheless he had three honest and pure men who stood up for him and I have given their opinions and perhaps anyone will be wise to take them in preference to mine. Chase wrote Halstead Cameron challenged any investigation as to corruption and could do so safely. Sumner as you state in your biography defended him against charges of official corruption (I write without referring to the page) and Lincoln in the conventional correspondence accepting his resignation, which however was not published for a month after his dismissal, has something to say about Cameron's efficient administration and fidelity to public trust. Lincoln also defended him when the House of Representatives passed a vote of censure on him.

Very much indeed would I have liked to have a talk with Mr. Charles A. Dana. About a year ago A. K. McClure of the Phila Times gave me a card of introduction to him. When I arrived at New York I mailed that to Mr. Dana saying I should like to call upon him in some hour of liberty. I received a most curt indorsement on my note, "My time is very valuable and I would like to know what you want to talk about as I have no half hours to spare." I replied very courteously that since I saw some of his private correspondence was printed, it would be unnecessary

to trouble him. In my original note I had thought it unnecessary to tell all about myself as McClure of McClure's Magazine had told him all about me and had praised highly my book. You yourself have such an easy way of approaching celebrated men and have been so successful in it, you may not think that that art is impossible to acquire. I have a high regard for historical material gained by familiar conversation with actors in historical scenes and I was glad to see how good a use you made of your experiences of that sort in your III and IV volumes.

Don't trust yourself to any more small Italian steamers on the Mediterranean. Good men are scarce even in this community which I really believe to be the best community on earth.

My history has grown on me and I shall close the third volume in the blaze of glory of our victories of the early part of '62 before the failure of the Peninsular campaign, although in a few closing words I shall mention the gloom and despondency which came upon us later. I think I should have got to the proclamation of emancipation if it had not been for the material you gave me, but that and my other studies have enabled me to give somewhat of freshness to my treatment of English sentiment, of which I am glad, as considerable of my work is commonplace enough from following the beaten track. But if the beaten track is true it is better to follow it than to get out of it for the purpose of making a sensation.

Very truly yours

(Signed)

James Ford Rhodes

There is one letter in the Sumner correspondence; I wish I had made a note of the writer's name but it was some preacher\* in one of the neighboring towns. He had heard that Sumner was becoming addicted to the delights of the wine cup (this was in 1861 or 1862) and he adjured him to practice total abstinence and not throw away his valuable life. As I have always understood Sumner was a man of exemplary habits, yet loved the social customs of gentlemen, I had a merry moment when I read this. As I did over the letters of many presumably "dead beats" who were strong anti-slavery men and wanted to serve their country for a valuable consideration and asked Sumner to get them the place. But on the whole Sumner's correspondents were men to be proud of—much better than Chase's.

#### IV.

Reservoir Street  
Cambridge May 18, 1894.

*My dear Mr. Pierce*

I was glad to get yours of the 4th inst. and it contained what I expected it would, a criticism of my treatment of Cameron. I have more confidence in your and General Cox's judgment of the period of which I write than in that of any other men and there is nothing that either of you can say to me that will not have my very careful consideration. It is just possible that in the fragmentary way in which I referred to Cameron you may have obtained a wrong impression, so I send you a copy of the most salient things I say on the point discussed, omitting all the notes but one. I will thank you to return to me the copy for if you still think I am too severe, I shall send it to Gen. Cox for his opinion. I am inclined to think now I shall let it stand as it is written but if you still object, I am going to think it over again. If you prefer I should not make that citation from Ely, as his letter was among your papers, I shall of course suppress it.

With your general statement of the duty of an historian, I partly agree. The "It is said", "It is reported" is all right to make a description of a movement or of a state of public sentiment and is frequently employed by Macaulay, and by Gardiner, both honest men. But it is quite another matter to use that form of expression to blacken reputations. Nevertheless that does not dispose of the whole matter. A reviewer of Gardiner's *History in the Nation* expressed the idea I long had and much better than I can state it and I therefore quote it: "The whole aim of an historian is the discovery and the statement of truth. With the charity which thinks no evil, with the judicial principle that it is more important that ten criminals escape punishment than that one innocent man be unjustly punished, he has no concern whatever. He must constantly deal not with certainties but with probabilities. Undue leniency in judging men's actions is in him as distinct a vice as undue severity. This is a truth which Mr. Gardiner forgets. The impartiality of the judgment-seat is not the impartiality needed for the discharge of an historian's judicial functions". Now apply that principle in this case. The prevalent sentiment in Congress and in the country was that Cameron had not been honest and as part of my business to trace public opinion it seems to me my duty is to record this. Cameron himself is nothing but a super in the great drama and I should not turn aside to speak either a good or bad word for him: but as he has posed so long as a martyr in the anti-slavery cause justice demands that the true tale of his removal should be told, for the change in the War department was a matter of moment. A charge of corruption against a shrewd man like Cameron can never be legally proved. It is something however that a lot of the best people of the country thought him corrupt and out of justice to him I add the testimony of Lincoln, Sumner and Chase in his favor, three as honest men as ever had anything to do with politics. The testimony which I do not refer to is that of Julian who puts it very much stronger than I do: and what I heard at a breakfast in Philadelphia where were present A. K. McClure, John Russell Young, and McClure's printer, an old Pennsylvanian of ripe experience. In his book McClure whitewashed Cameron although he had always been his political enemy and on my bringing up the subject, while no details were given, enough was said to make me know that a statement that Cameron was honest in the War department would have made all three men very merry.

I thank you for the mention of Forbes, and the reference to Gov. Andrews correspondence in the State House. Sorry you should have had such weather in Paris. We have had the most delightful spring since 1880. Think of a beautiful March and a warm May in Boston!

I have seen no criticism in a Boston paper on your chapter on Boston society. I look nearly every day at *The Herald*, *Advertiser* and *Transcript*. Had I seen it I should have sent it to you. I believe however that references to and criticisms of that chapter will appear as long as you and I live; for it is one of the striking historical chapters which the country will not forget. You have reason to be proud of it.

Your son Charles Sumner called on us the other evening, looking well and feeling fine though he told us he was carrying six courses this year. I have no doubt his father thinks as much of him as he does of his father, for he is a credit to his family.

Very truly yours

(Signed)

James Ford Rhodes



V.

Reservoir Street,  
Cambridge June 25th, 1894*My dear Mr Pierce*

Yours of the 3d inst. at hand. Thanks for prompt reply. Your criticisms are all well taken except perhaps one. My statement is that Lincoln *probably* thought the War department was badly administered. With so many good men thinking that, whose opinion he respected, how could he have thought otherwise? While he had little head for the details of business, he was a good judge of men. He knew Seward and Chase thoroughly, and from what Judge Hoar has told me I am satisfied he understood Stanton. Why should he not have understood Cameron, a much less complex character than any of the three? Lincoln's summary and even discourteous (if I thought Cameron all right) removal of Cameron would seem to be an evidence of considerable dissatisfaction. M. B. Field in his Memoirs writes that Seward said that Lincoln had full knowledge of the defects of his secretary of War's administration and hoped for amendment, and when the amendment did not come he removed him. Cameron is a very common character in America. He was one of those men who believe money will do anything, who, no matter in what position he may be, has an inordinate idea of the value of his own services and thinks they should be expressed in cash. Cash is always of more importance than honor or respect of the good. Such a man may, after he becomes rich and has passed fifty or sixty think he would like to be esteemed for probity, but the paths habit has worn in his brain are too strong for him, and he has to pursue the road, on which he started, and when he sees a chance to make a good thing he cannot help embracing it. I have known many men of that type. Cameron is living now in Quay and in Brice and probably in many others of whom I know less. My Father knew Simon Cameron well and liked him much, for he was I believe an amiable and hospitable man: but my Father had no opinion whatever of his honesty in public affairs but as between man and man I believe he was true, his word about a transaction was good, and he did not take in his friends as did Blaine. I think if one should go through the payments made to the Northern Central Railroad, in which I believe Cameron was largely interested, by the government in 1861 he would find some amazing developments. The committee on government contracts found some peculiar payments made the Pennsylvania Railroad and in their questions implied considerable censure on Scott, who was Vice President of the Pennsylvania Railroad as well as Assistant Secretary.

My own notion is that political corruption is the greatest of evils in this country. It cannot be proved against astute men like Cameron. I think therefore it is highly proper that a historian should mention the sentiment of good men of his day towards men of that kind. What I shall do in this matter will be of course only a drop in the sea, but being in a position to speak independently and fearlessly I should not deem it right to suppress what I believe to be well founded suspicion.

Lincoln appointed Cameron because David Davis made a bargain to give him a cabinet position to secure the Cameron portion of the Pennsylvania delegation. The Curtin portion was for anyone to beat Seward (except of course Cameron), who had no chance. Cameron himself was for Seward but was not I think at Chicago. You have been in politics and know the ways of politicians and your judgment as to whether Lin-

coln did wrong in ratifying Davis's bargain would be better than mine. For my own part I do not think a corrupt man should have a cabinet position. I was in hopes Sumner had protested against Cameron's appointment on the ground of his bad political reputation as well as on that of his conservatism (for Mar. 4, 1861 Cameron was on Seward's side) as the *Diary of a Public Man* said. But you told me that was not like Sumner and I erased the sentence. Thad. Stevens protested against Cameron's appointment but defended him after he was removed.

We have had one of the warmest Junes in twenty years; sixteen days of it with only one break of warm weather; many days with mercury at 90°; yesterday 94°; last Sunday 95° in Boston.

I am thinking of taking my family to Europe in September for a year. Have been more or less ill for three months with inflammation of the bladder and from my illness or from working too much when convalescing. I feel tired out and want the mental rest one gets in Europe. If I get to feeling as strong physically as before my attack shall go. It is a grief to me that I should have been in America while you were in Europe and that I shall be in Europe while you are in America, but I hope I shall see you before sailing. Shall probably sail on the *Campania* September 8th. I have sent eight volumes of your Sumner correspondence to Milton. The other volumes that I have and the Bright correspondence I shall put in the vaults of the Cambridge Safety Deposit and Trust Co. subject to your and my orders. I hope however no one will want the Bright correspondence until I return. I have used it freely and shall continue to do so.

Very truly yours

(Signed) James Ford Rhodes

P.S. Thank you very much for the quotation from Horace. It is pat.

VI.

Boston Sept. 5 1894

*My dear Mr. Pierce*

Documents rec'd. I have not yet had time to read them. Will do so on board ship. Thanks many thanks again. I believe you know more about good and original material on the epoch I am treating than any man in America. It is a pity you had not written the history of it. For I fear you will think my own book is weakened by the spirit of compromise. But it will take much to shake my faith in C. F. Adams. He did nobly abroad and especially so as he had a hard master (Seward) to work for. If Adams changed in 1860-61 from patriotism or from alarm his course is easily defensible; if it was for the sake of political advancement and he expected to get it by pleasing Seward, that is a different matter. You see Sumner, Chase and you were consistent in 1850 and in 1861. Are you not hard on the inconsistent men? It is not given to everyone to be ruled in politics constantly and unequivocally by uncompromising moral ideas: and many men have served their country well and honestly who have been opportunists.

Very truly yours

(Signed) Jas. Ford Rhodes

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

*Methods in Social Science: a Case Book.* Edited by STUART A. RICE, Professor of Sociology and Statistics, University of Pennsylvania. [Compiled under the Direction of the Committee on Scientific Method in the Social Sciences of the Social Science Research Council.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1931. Pp. 822. \$4.50.)

No serious member of our guild needs to be reminded of the fact that "history" is that image of the past which filters through the mind of the historian, as light through a window. Sometimes the glass is dirty; too often it is distressingly opaque. The long and sometimes unfortunate experience of mankind with history has taught the historian that the biases, prejudices, concepts, assumptions, hopes, and ambitions which have contributed to the opaqueness of the minds of his predecessors are a part of the past with which he must deal. If he be a conscientious craftsman, he explores his own mind to discover those distorting bubbles which play such pranks on light rays. But at the outset he is sadly aware that, although he may discover a few of the more obvious imperfections, his task is hopeless.

The Social Science Research Council in a volume of eight hundred odd pages has discovered (what we have long suspected) that the image of society which filters through the casements of the social sciences is as blurred and distorted as is that of history. The discovery is, no doubt, a useful labor. The historian has sometimes noted an ominous cocksureness among practitioners of the social sciences which only recently have disentangled themselves from theology, philosophy, and history. Perhaps the book will have a chastening effect on naïve young men in different disciplines whose minds are filled by what they deem to be a great light. We recommend the volume to devotees of all cults, be they disciples of *Gestalt*, of economic determinism, or of the "new history".

But the book also has uses for the humble worker in the vineyard who feels in his heart that the Lord will never risk a revelation for him. He may derive comfort from the pages in which, with more or less clarity, the minds and methods of the great ones are dissected. After all, these other laborers are mere stumblers as he is. In the assumptions, concepts, and techniques of the investigators in the different social disciplines he can get a picture of the momentary ideology of the twentieth century. Such a picture is useful. It helps the researcher by adding to his knowledge and by stimulating new ideas. The volume will tend to diversify



further rather than to standardize what is called method. Research, after all, is an individual matter, the result of the curiosity of a mind which is always unique.

Doubtless the practical benefits will justify the expenditure of time and money which has resulted in this volume. But we would respectfully suggest to the Social Science Research Council that this foray into the metaphysics of method will last us a long time. We must get on with our hoeing.

Yale University.

RALPH HENRY GABRIEL.

*Krieg und Kriegführung im Wandel der Weltgeschichte.* Von Dr. PAUL SCHMITTHENNER, Privatdozent an der Universität Heidelberg. [Museum der Weltgeschichte, herausgegeben von Dr. Paul Herre.] (Wildpark-Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion. 1930. Pp. 452.)

THIS is a synthesis of war in all its aspects throughout the ages. It is no book for the beginner, unless he is content with studying the hundreds of magnificent illustrations which in themselves give an excellent idea of the development of war. Dr. Schmitthenner would have greatly improved his work had he supplemented these illustrations with occasional word pictures. As it is, the book presupposes a thorough knowledge of history, both general and military. The average reader would do well to consult some more elementary study such as Admiral Fiske's *Art of Warfare* or Austin's *Saga of the Sword* before attempting to appreciate the author's rapid-fire of military allusions. This book, however, will repay such time spent, for its categorical analyses are often original and enlightening.

The treatment is topical rather than chronological. There are several chapters devoted to the technical development of tactics and strategy, but the other parts of the book are of more interest to the general historian. War is considered successively in its relation to science, geography, society, economic life, and to the state. In each case, the author presents two or more types and carries them side by side down through the centuries. He lays special emphasis upon the *Kulturkrieg*—civilized warfare—which has scored a complete victory over the warfare of the lower cultural stages. He shows how this *Kulturkrieg* itself has been constantly modified in its adaptation to the external arts and the inward spirit of civilized peoples as they developed.

Some of Dr. Schmitthenner's classifications are particularly worthy of notice. From the scientific standpoint, he states that warfare has passed through five stages—human strength, animal and mechanical, chemical, automotive, and electrical. Uncivilized peoples never progressed beyond the second stage, and Europe's development of the last three facilitated its world expansion. In a second classification, he distinguishes between the transitory, devastating *Wanderkrieg* of the nomads, with horse and bow, and the slower but surer wars of the

settled groups, fighting with sword and spear for territorial expansion or political freedom. Europe attained much when, after checking the Turks, she was able to ban the destructive *Wanderkrieg*, but, the author warns us, it may break out again from Asia and Northern Africa upon a decadent Europe. In dealing with the theater of war, he divides history into four general periods alternating between land and sea. War at first was inland and purely military; in the Mediterranean period of Greece and Rome, control of the sea was vital; then for some twelve centuries war went ashore until, in the last three centuries, it has taken again to the sea and has become world-wide in its scope. Discussing war in relation to economic life, the author says that the economic motive has generally been present in war ever since the first predatory raids, but it has increased so vitally in the last century that armed conflict is now really only an extreme phase of the constant economic warfare. War is even more closely linked up with political life, for until some compact group such as the family or clan developed, fighting could not properly be called war. From those small groups, war and the state have progressed to the world empire stage, with the centrifugal forces of private war and the feud always at work to counteract this. In linking up war with society, Dr. Schmitthenner draws the fundamental distinction between the professional and the amateur soldier, showing how modern universal military service is in general a return to the old *Volksheer*, after a long period of war by a special military class or by mercenaries.

One of the most interesting of all his chapters is that on "absolute" as opposed to "regulated" warfare. In the beginning, absolute war was the normal condition of life—continual, all-powerful, and all-destructive. Gradually this was modified, with the substitution of slavery for slaughter, with respect for noncombatants, and restriction of plunder until, in the eighteenth century, the "well-drilled marionettes" fighting for dynastic ends scarcely bothered the civil population. The rise of the *bourgeoisie* in the nineteenth century continued to keep war within bounds, but Clausewitz, influenced by the temporary throwback during the Napoleonic period, preached the effectiveness of absolute war. The World War, with its unrestricted demands upon the man power and even the woman power of the world, and in the ruthless thoroughness of its methods, marked a definite return to the earlier absolute warfare. On the whole, there are few of Dr. Schmitthenner's views to which we would take exception, but he might have done much, in the interests of clarity and emphasis, to improve his presentation.

Princeton University.

ROBERT G. ALBION.

*Israël: des Origines au Milieu du VIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle.* Par ADOLPHE LODS, Professeur à la Sorbonne. [Bibliothèque de Synthèse Historique: l'Évolution de l'Humanité, dirigée par Henri Berr.] (Paris: Renaissance du Livre. 1930. Pp. xvi, 595. 40 fr.)

THIS book, as its title indicates, is an investigation in Hebrew origins. It begins with a discussion of the sources of information which Lods rightly finds to be threefold: first, archæology and epigraphy; secondly, literary sources; and thirdly, comparative folklore and religion. This is followed by a description of Palestine, its climate, flora and fauna, a sketch of its history to the twelfth century, a discussion of its inhabitants at the time of the Hebrew conquest, and of Palestinian civilization and religion. Lods then gives a sketch of early Hebrew history and social organization. This is followed by a discussion of Hebrew religion. In this part of his book he endeavors to discuss the religious beliefs of the pre-Mosaic time, the form of Yahwism in the nomadic period, the work of Moses and the Palestinian conquest. A sketch of the history down to the eighth century is then given. This is followed by a discussion of the religious and social transformation induced by the settlement in Palestine and includes a discussion of the resultant religious practices and beliefs. The work is brought to a conclusion by an endeavor to estimate the influence of Hebrew religion, during the period covered by the book, upon the life of the nation.

The work as a whole is to be highly commended. Lods has employed all known sources and shows thorough familiarity with the discussions of the leading authorities upon the varied phases of which he is compelled to treat. Several pages at the end of his work are occupied with a list of the works which he has consulted and cited. This list exhibits the wide range of the writer's reading and research and the resultant picture which he sketches evinces his mastery of the subject.

In a work on this topic the author inevitably gropes for definite knowledge in regions concerning which we know enough only to form theories. Under such circumstances the reader will naturally frequently differ from the conclusions reached by Lods. Take, for example, the problem as to whether the Habiri of the el-Amarna tablets are Hebrews, and whether the conquest of Palestine occurred in the time of the 18th dynasty or the 19th, or whether there were two conquests—the Hebrews entering the country in two successive waves. The conclusion reached by Lods is not one in which all scholars will concur. In his view, the Habiri were an extensive *mélange* of tribes only remotely connected with the Hebrews of history. The Hebrews of history entered Egypt in the time of the 18th dynasty and Rameses II. of the 19th dynasty was the pharaoh of the oppression and Merneptah pharaoh of the Exodus. The Hebrew conquest was not accomplished until shortly after 1200 B.C. It does not, apparently, occur to him that a part only of the Hebrews of history may have been in Egypt. In the judgment of the reviewer Lods is undoubtedly right in connecting the traditions of oppression in Egypt and



the Exodus therefrom with the 19th dynasty, but it seems to the reviewer very probable that not all the Hebrews sojourned in Egypt.

This problem is cited simply as an example, one out of many, concerning which the evidence is so inconclusive that certainty is unattainable. It in no way detracts from the merit of Lods's book. The work is a mine of well digested information and may be heartily commended to every Biblical scholar.

*The University of Pennsylvania.*

GEORGE A. BARTON.

*The Excavations at Dura-Europas: Preliminary Report of the Second Season of Work, October, 1928-April, 1929.* Edited by P. V. C. BAUR, Professor of Classical Archaeology in Yale University, and M. I. ROSTOVITZ, Sterling Professor of Ancient History and Classical Archaeology in Yale University. [Conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1931. Pp. xix, 225. \$3.00.)

THE work of the second season (first season's work reviewed, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXV. 318), was conducted by M. Maurice Pillet, director, Mr. Clark Hopkins and Mrs. Hopkins, Mr. Jotham Johnson, and M. Serge Dairaines. Actual excavation began on October 25, 1928, and ended on March 31, 1929. M. Pillet contributes the report on the campaign, during which the excavation of the Palmyrene Gate and the Tower and Temple of the Palmyrene Gods was completed and three more buildings were disclosed: one is represented by the ruins of two successive citadels; the other two are the Baths and a shrine built by the Roman troops. The many objects discovered include pottery and glassware, small bronzes, paintings on wood, cloth and armor, parchments, a papyrus, coins, and jewels.

The report on finds is by Mr. Hopkins, Mrs. Hopkins contributing the sections on stamped and scratched pottery and on coins, Mr. Johnson that on jewelry. At the citadel the earliest building is Hellenistic in date, but the later building and the wall surrounding the citadel are Parthian (*i.e.*, after 150 B.C.). The great circuit walls, the Tower of the Palmyrene Temple, and the Temple itself should probably be dated about the beginning of our era. After the earthquake of 160 A.D. the walls were apparently built of mortar and rubble work; the latest walls, of mud brick, were probably built not much before 260 A.D. Inscriptions published by Mr. Hopkins include one in Latin recording the erection of a temple and statue by a centurion of the fourth Scythian legion, *per coh(ortem) II Ulpi(am) eq(uitatam) civium Romanorum sagittariorum*, a Greek dedication to the Greatest Zeus dating the earthquake as having occurred October 26/27, 860 A.D., about 10 A.M., Greek dedications to the god Iarhibol and to Zeus Soter, and a number of graffiti.

Mr. Johnson publishes 143 new inscriptions from the Palmyrene Gate and a number of others including a horoscope which yields the date July

3-5, 176 A.D.; Professor C. C. Torrey publishes four Safaitic and two Palmyrene inscriptions; textiles, doubtless woven shortly after the middle of the third century after Christ, are described by Lillian M. Wilson. Professors Rostovtzeff and Baur discuss a Victory on a painted panel which is probably to be dated between 150 and 200 A.D. and is more Iranian than contemporary paintings at Palmyra. Graffiti discussed by Professor Rostovtzeff show Parthian warriors and indicate some artistic ability in the populace of Dura. A parchment recording an interesting contract of loan of 121 A.D., published by Professors Rostovtzeff and C. Bradford Welles, is more fully discussed in *Yale Classical Studies*, volume II. There is an index of inscriptions, but no general index.

A review of such a book can be little more than an incomplete summary of its contents. That the results of the excavations are important and will add to our knowledge of the history and the art of Syria and adjacent regions during some six centuries is evident. The writers of this book, bearing in mind that it is a preliminary publication, avoid too positive statements of opinion, though the correctness of the opinions expressed is seldom, if ever, open to serious doubt. The illustrations are numerous and good. Such prompt and excellent publication of the results of excavations is worthy of all praise.

*The Library of Congress.*

HAROLD N. FOWLER.

*The Cambridge Ancient History. Volume VIII., Rome and the Mediterranean, 218-133 B.C.* Edited by S. A. COOK, Litt.D., F. E. ADCOCK, M.A., M. P. CHARLESWORTH, M.A. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. xxv, 840. \$9.50.)

THIS volume of the *Cambridge Ancient History* covers the period from the beginning of the Second Punic War to the Gracchan Age. Though there are fourteen collaborators, the work is, as a whole, well planned and coördinated. In addition to the English scholars, Frank, Holleaux, Kazarow, Rostovtzeff, and Schulten have contributed to the volume. The central theme is Rome, and the history of the Hellenistic states is treated from the standpoint of their relations with this new power in the western Mediterranean. As a result, their internal history is somewhat neglected, although this fault is corrected in the case of Syria by Bevan's chapter on Syria and the Jews. Egypt, however, receives little more than passing mention. Constitutional history, apart from the chapter on Rome where Frank deals with the senatorial aristocracy, receives slight attention. Presumably the ninth volume will set forth the conditions which precipitated the Gracchan revolution, but in this volume there is little to indicate the coming storm.

Three chapters are devoted by Mr. Hallward to the Second Punic War. He takes the point of view that aggressive action by Rome in Spain forced Carthage to defend her empire by taking the offensive, and that Hannibal was not waging a personal war of revenge but was acting

under orders from Carthage. This view is probably correct, but it is also likely that the secret of Roman diplomacy in Spain may be found in the influence of Massilia. It is clear that Rome had little direct concern there, but Massilia must have viewed with considerable alarm the extension of Carthaginian influence where she once had excellent markets. Holleaux and Benecke (chs. V.-IX.) deal with Roman policies in the eastern Mediterranean. Holleaux believes that the Romans had no clear understanding of Greek politics, but that their fears were roused by the delegates of Pergamum and Rhodes who argued that the threatened combination of Philip and Antiochus with the resources of Egypt would constitute a real menace to Rome. This may be true, but Rome was most concerned in protecting her Adriatic front, and having learned from the recent war that a vigorous offensive on enemies' territory was the best defense, the senate resolved to constitute a series of independent Greek states under Roman protection in order to forestall any possibility of attack, especially by sea, from the Orient. The strategy was sound, but no one foresaw that this move would ultimately lead to complete domination in the East. In the account of the final struggle between Rome and Carthage, Hallward offers the suggestion that Rome destroyed Carthage in order to prevent Masinissa from forming a strong Numidian empire in North Africa. I hardly think that Roman diplomacy at its worst could conceive the idea of weakening a possible foe by destroying that foe's bitterest enemy.

In the chapters on Rome and on Italy, Frank has furnished some interesting calculations on economic conditions. In normal times with normal prices the profits of an olive grower would barely yield six per cent. on his investment. If one used the figures given by Pliny (*N.H.* 18.3.17) for oil, wine, and wheat about 150 B.C., the Italian farmer must have been experiencing the same economic conditions as his modern successor in the twentieth century. Rostovtzeff gives a good though brief sketch of trade and commerce in the Bosporan kingdom, Pergamum, Rhodes, and Delos. The chapters on Roman literature by Duff and on Roman religion and philosophy by Bailey are of high quality and serve to relieve the tedium of the story of political intrigue. The final chapter on Hellenistic art, by Ashmole, is excellent both in description and in interpretation of the artistic achievements of the age.

Princeton University.

ALLAN CHESTER JOHNSON.

*The Cambridge Ancient History.* Edited by S. A. COOK, LITT.D., F. E. ADCOCK, M.A., M. P. CHARLESWORTH, M.A. Volume of Plates, III., prepared by C. T. Seltman, M.A. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. xiii, 198. \$3.50.)

THIS volume provides illustrations for volumes VII. and VIII. of the *Cambridge Ancient History*. Hellenistic sculpture from the third to the first centuries B.C. is represented, chiefly by well-known examples



though in many cases the photographs are from casts. The paintings are somewhat unsatisfactory since some details discussed by Ashmole in his chapter in volume VIII. can not be seen in the reproductions. Italy and Rome receive little attention because the discussion of their art is reserved for volume IX. and the plates which will accompany it. The chief interest in the present volume lies in the gold, silver, and bronze objects from outlying districts; Celtic, Thracian, and Bosporan metal work are particularly well represented. The photographs of the site of Numantia and some of the Pergamene restorations occupy more space than their intrinsic merit would seem to warrant and some of the pages devoted to coins and smaller objects are overcrowded. In general, the plates are adequate for illustration of the text but of comparatively little independent interest.

*Princeton University.*

F. R. B. GODOLPHIN.

#### BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL HISTORY

*The Middle Ages, 300-1500.* By JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON, Professor of Medieval History, University of Chicago. Two volumes. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1931. Pp. xxx, 618; 619-1069, xlv [index]. \$12.50.)

THE reviewer has found these two volumes written in a vigorous and readable style and possessed of not a few excellencies of detail. Some, we think, will go so far as to describe them as colorful. The treatment of the growth of the Christian Church is dexterously introduced and handled. Battles long ago are chronicled with gusto, and picturesque circumstance and vivid incident are utilized freely. Not that the style is always faultless.

The general plan and organization of material does not offer the novelty or originality which we might be led to expect from one who attempts a two volume history of the Middle Ages. Nor is the whole field covered from 300 to 1500 A.D. English history is evidently purposely omitted, but this necessarily makes the account somewhat lacking in completeness. The same might be said of the scant space accorded to medieval town life, although here again perhaps the author would have us turn to his *Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages* for further details. The importance of Arabic and medieval Latin science is recognized, but closing the chapter with Frederick II. is a questionable climax and chronologically misleading. The chapter on medieval education says nothing of municipal schools. Sanitation, charity, hospitals, are other phases of medieval life for which we scan these volumes in vain, whereas we are twice told of the introduction from Persia during the late Roman Empire of shoes of red leather with golden soles, and nearly a page (p. 717) is devoted to the article of armor known as the *wambais* or gambeson. Medieval law is included, but medicine is neglected. And even in the legal field the only mention of Bartolus seems to be under the

year 1495 at the Diet of Worms. The addition of some pages on medieval music to the chapter on art is highly commendable, but Gothic painting is ignored, and Giotto is represented as a Renaissance rather than Gothic artist, and as imitating the antique to which he owed little or nothing. Nothing is said of the new inspiration of the career and legend of Saint Francis to Italian artists in freeing themselves from the *maniera greca*. The twelfth century renaissance is duly recognized, but the old conception of a later renaissance is little altered in consequence.

The work does not, as a rule, assume to offer new results based upon personal investigation or interpretation but is rather a general narrative and summary of existing knowledge. Quotation from other historians is indulged in rather to excess, especially in the case of Spengler, use of whom would seem in the nature of a confession of weakness on the part of one treating a less general theme at greater length and who might be expected to evolve telling generalizations of his own. It seems especially inappropriate to cite Spengler instead of Pierre Duhem's five volume *Le Système du Monde* for such a statement as that contained in a note at the bottom of page 1037: "The Copernican system was hinted at in a manuscript of 1322 and a few decades later was mathematically developed by the Paris Occamists, Buridan, Albert of Saxony, and Oresme." Those personal observations and interpretations which the author does make are not always acceptable or consistent or impressive. To say of the Crusades, "The intellectual results . . . were of vast benefit to the West", and, "Their influence upon art, architecture, and literature was very great and wholly excellent" (pp. 600-601), is too optimistic and neglects other factors.

Professor Thompson's narrative shows a rather excessive faith in the influence of government and especially of individual rulers upon the course of history and human development, while social factors are somewhat slighted.

The work unfortunately is not without some grievous lapses. To assert that the mariner's compass was not in use in the West until the fourteenth century—despite Amalfi and Petrus Peregrinus and such a modern authority as Beazley—is bad enough; to omit all mention of medieval *portolani* and extol Renaissance cartography is worse. But for one who pens a glowing eulogy of the Italian Renaissance to assert that *quattrocento* means fourteenth century, and *cinquecento*, the fifteenth century (pp. 1017, 1027), is really shocking. Even if the author has never read such standard works as Monnier's *Le Quattrocento* or Fiorentino's *Risorgimento Filosofico nel Quattrocento*, he should know that *quattrocento* refers to the fourteen hundreds or fifteenth century, and that the *cinquecento* lies entirely beyond the chronological limits of his volumes. In general, Professor Thompson seems more at home in his treatment of French and German than of Italian affairs, and of the earlier than of the closing Middle Ages.

On the whole, this work is a lively recapitulation, retelling, and popularization of the conventional story of the Middle Ages with con-

siderable additions as to culture which should meet the demands of many general readers, but is neither an especially noteworthy contribution to historical scholarship nor always representative of the latest and most advanced results which such scholarship has attained.

Columbia University.

LYNN THORNDIKE.

*The Medieval Scene: an Informal Introduction to the Middle Ages.*

By G. G. COULTON, Litt.D., Hon. D.Litt., F.B.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, Honorary Fellow of St. Catharine's College, University Lecturer in English. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. ix, 163. \$2.00.)

*Ten Medieval Studies.* With four Appendices. By G. G. COULTON. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. xi, 297. \$5.00.)

*Life in the Middle Ages.* Selected, translated, and annotated by G. G. COULTON. Four volumes in one. [The Cambridge Anthologies, J. Dover Wilson, Litt.D., General Editor.] (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. xx, 446. \$5.50.)

*A History of Vicarages in the Middle Ages.* By R. A. R. HARTIDGE, M.A., Ph.D., sometime Scholar of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and Sir William Meyer Student, University College, London. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. x, 273. \$6.00.)

*THE Medieval Scene*, a series of radio talks delivered in 1929, reveals Dr. Coulton at his best. For once he has made the Middle Ages attractive. There is a good treatment of usury (pp. 143 ff.). *Ten Medieval Studies* is a republication of the first, with three of the second, series of *Medieval Studies*. The papers are admittedly "occasional and to a great extent controversial" (p. vii). Indeed, Dr. Coulton expends about one-fourth of his space and an excessive amount of his energy in blasting the reputation of Cardinal Gasquet as an historian, reducing him to the undignified position of a "controversial bankrupt" (p. 85) and burying him under an incomplete collection of one hundred and seventy-nine "blunders" found in his writings (appendix II.). The champion of the "moderate Anglican position" (p. iii) then enters the lists with Mgr. Vaughan and Fathers Gerard, Cuthbert, and Stanislaus. The article on Berthold of Regensburg is cursory and sympathetic, but footnotes indicating the sermon numbers would be helpful. The modern German edition of the *Predigten*, by Franz Göbel (Regensburg, Manz, 1929), is not mentioned. Throughout the book there is considerable overlapping of material and repetition of instances. Dr. Coulton's assertion that Eudes Rigaud was "entirely unable" to remove a homicidal canon (p.



19) does not appear to be substantiated by the archbishop's *Regeſter*. The opinion that "the Puritanism of the Reformation was . . . only the moſt logical attempt yet made to realize certain thoroughly mediæval ideals" (p. 71) is worthy both of repetition and conſideration.

Dr. Coulton's four volume *Life in the Middle Ages* is now collected into one volume, but the pagination and the indexes annoyingly remain as ſeparate units.

Mr. Hartridge is an able and loyal follower of his maſter, Dr. Coulton. His *History of Vicarages in the Middle Ages* is the published reſult of his work for the doctorate at Cambridge. The normal ſtudent will find chapters I. (Origins) and VIII. (The Division of Duties and Burdens) moſt helpful. Deſpite the title, the vaſt bulk of the evidence has been taken from printed Engliſh ſources, although manuſcripts have been uſed for a number of French pariſhes and there are occaſional references to Switzerland and the archdiocēſe of Worms. There is little that is new, but the book has value in its thorough treatment of the Engliſh vicarage. Mr. Hartridge found the earlieſt mention of an Engliſh parochial vicar at Perſhore in 1147. He found alſo that "normally ſince 1215 . . . the churches appropriated to religious corporations were ſerved by perpetual ſecular vicars", that while monks were rarely incumbents, ſome were to be found, and he cites examples of Hoſpitaillers and Templars ſerving as reſident incumbents. He is peſſimiſtic as to the motives (natural though they were) for "appropriation" by religious corporations (among other things a vicarage enjoyed a certain freedom from papal interference, and he can not reſiſt quoting from the *Chronicles of St. Albans* (via Coulton) that "Richard of Mauſco, Biſhop of Rocheſter, gave us the church of Eglingham for the improvement of our beer". He laments that the appropriation of tiſhes by the monaſteries inflicted hardships on the pariſhioners and ſtates, juſtly enough, that "alms at the monaſtery gate do not excuse unrelieved poverty in the diſtant appropriated pariſh". There is a helpful analysis of the *Taxatio Papæ Nicholai* which reveals the fact that one-fifth of the Engliſh pariſh churches were "ſerved by vicars who held perpetual benefices". Mr. Hartridge has alſo corrected the tendency to exaggerate the value of ſmall tiſhes at the expense of oblations and has cleared up the confuſion ſurrounding "altarage". The bibliography and index are extenſive and good.

*Lehigh University.*

SYDNEY M. BROWN.

*Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediæval England: the Wardrobe, the Chamber, and the Small Seals.* By T. F. TOUT, Litt.D., D.Litt., LL.D., F.B.A., late Honorary Profeſſor of the University. Volume V. [Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, no. LVII.] (Manchester: University Preſs. 1930. Pp. xx, 451. 30 s.)

WITH this volume the great work of the late Profeſſor Tout, the previous parts of which have been duly noticed in this *Review* (XXVI.

78; XXXIV. 314), is substantially completed. As Mrs. Tout has gracefully explained, it was the author's plan that his own chapters should be supplemented by the contributions of colleagues and pupils. Accordingly the section on the Queen's Household is by the pen of Professor Hilda Johnstone, that on the Household of the Black Prince, by Dr. Margaret Sharp, while the indispensable collaboration of Dr. Dorothy Broome is continued in the final revisions. In the hands of such a "syndicate" surely nothing is lacking in the technical finish and literary excellence of the book. There simply remains to be compiled a volume for the general index and appendixes.

In the fulfillment of promise, our chief attention is drawn to a treatment of the small seals, beginning with the privy seal from the time of the attack by the Lords Ordainers in 1311. The complete separation of this instrument from the wardrobe was a gradual process, at the same time that it escaped being absorbed in the chancery, before it was centered in an independent though a minor department of state. The inner working of the office being now for the first time penetrated, it is evident that the keepers in their ambitious careers never gave the organization their whole-hearted devotion, while the small staff of clerks enjoying an exceptional security of tenure lived under the laxest sort of discipline; all of which resulted in a notorious lack of order including a disheveled condition of the records. When the privy seal ceased to follow the king, another personal instrument was devised in the secret seal or signet. But typical of the whole course of English history, neither the one seal nor the other, nor even the sign manual, was permitted to remain indefinitely under personal control. Much attention naturally is given to the diplomatic form of sealed letters, and an admirable series of plates sets forth the best available illustrations of the designer's art. A slight misreading of the Statute of Treasons is noticeable (p. 66), according to which counterfeiting the privy seal was denoted as treason, although the keeper was omitted among the ministers whom it is treason to kill.

A study of lesser households is equally illuminating, for they were not exactly on the model of the king's establishment. Free from parliamentary interference, lords and ladies might command their seals as well as fiscal systems according to individual or local convenience. Under the Black Prince, for example, the privy seal, in the hands of a chancellor, continued to be the principal instrument, while his great seal pertained especially to the duchy of Aquitaine. Similar anomalies are to be found in the Lancastrian household, but on this subject a projected chapter has perforce been omitted.

After all, the permanent value of the book, as Dr. Tout himself desired, lies not in any claim to completeness or to the finality of its conclusions. Like the works of Stubbs and Maitland, its influence will long be felt in the great field that it has discovered for further research, and in the immense stimulation which it has given to investigators in administrative history.

*Il Linguaggio Segreto di Dante e dei Fedeli d'Amore.* Per LUIGI VALLI. (Rome: Optima. 1928. Pp. 142. 40 l.)

THIS work opens a wholly new outlook in the field of Dante interpretation. And this outlook, it must at once be emphasized, is the result of a critical and positive attitude toward Dante's *ipsissima verba*. The author handles that golden key, *spiegare Dante con Dante*. By means of this alone he would unlock the mind of the *sommo Poeta* in art and its meaning for the world—his message still '*alla futura gente*'.

Valli had embraced Pascoli's conception that the key to the *Commedia* is the existence of a wonderful symmetry between Dante's Three Worlds, the root of which is his desire to reconcile the pagan ideal of justice with the Christian ideal of mercy—law and love—representing their union as the divine purpose and plan for the redemption of mankind. That plan had failed since the usurpation of the imperial power by the Church through the Donation of Constantine, and could not be fulfilled, until the "Eagle" and the "Cross", God's twofold instruments for man, should establish universal right and light by their even sway, each within its own sphere, and "make music as before". Such was the upshot of Valli's capital works, *Il Segreto della Croce e dell'Aquila* and *La Chiave della Divina Commedia*.

These works established a new standpoint for the interpretation both of Dante's art and its relation to life problems in every age. But they left Valli face to face with one problem in that art itself, which demanded application of the same method—the problem presented by the outworks of the *Commedia*, Dante's other creations, the *Vita Nuova* and the *Canzoniere*, and the problem of the *Dolce Stil Nuovo* in Dante's hands. Here he was up against the 'Realists' in his own country, who held that Dante's love (and the 'loves' of his fellow poets) was essentially the personal love of a living maiden, on whose death he had betaken himself to other passions, returning only to a glorified Beatrice in the *Commedia*. Valli found that view unworthy of Dante and unsupported by any real evidence. It shed no light on story or language in either the *Vita Nuova* or the *Canzoniere*. Further it failed altogether to account for his relation to the *Dolce Stil Nuovo* and his own contemporary poets. Lastly, it took no account of the contemporary Oriental and mystical literature of love, which touched Dante's own story and language. Valli, therefore, subjected the language and literature of the *Dolce Stil Nuovo* to an exhaustive analysis with the purpose of discovering the truth about Gabriel Rossetti's contention that the Italian literature of love was essentially symbolic and employed a secret language to convey a mystic philosophy, common to the East and West—as well as a Masonic correspondence between those who embraced this "New Life of an Ancient Wisdom". Valli finds interwoven with its symbolic import this other sense of 'Amore'. It stands for a 'Sect' and its organization as well as for their ideal. Valli believed that finally Dante broke away from all sects and abandoned their 'jargon', though the *Commedia* remains as



the trumpet call, of an actor as well as of an artist, '*alla futura gente*'—a people yet to come.

*King's Lynn, England.*

S. UDNY.

#### BOOKS OF MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*Machiavelli.* Per ORESTE FERRARA. (Milan: Fratelli Treves. 1930. Pp. vii, 385.)

WHOEVER should be tempted to conclude that this book, because it avoids the appearances of conventional scholarship to the point of carrying not even a single footnote, is the product of some dilettante's leisure, would be greatly mistaken. A critical scrutiny will show that the author is well acquainted with the vast literature dealing with Machiavelli and that, more important still, he has lived with the works and letters of the famous Florentine until they may be said to have entered fairly into his being. The propelling idea behind the book is very simple, being nothing other than the desire to replace with the real Machiavelli the innumerable false images of him which have been foisted on mankind. If the fashion for some centuries after his death was to picture him as black as possible, a veritable son of Belial, his rehabilitation, begun in the eighteenth century, proceeded with such zest that it has ended—to his own rich amusement no doubt, if we can imagine him watching our troubled planet from the abode of the immortals—with washing him whiter than snow. The climax was reached when the dominant party of contemporary Italy made him into one of their major saints.

The author's first chapter reviews these contradictory pictures painted by the shifting opinion of mankind and then undertakes to shape the image which, avoiding the exaggerations of both the detractors and the encomiasts, shall be exclusively determined by the facts. If only the facts could ever be established in a manner admitting of no dispute! Somewhat naïvely the author thinks the trick can be turned by an honest, critical intelligence like his own; and although the result is not as he imagines—the authentic and final Machiavelli—it does offer an engaging version of the mocking little secretary as a person strictly conditioned by his age and possessed, like every other son of Adam, of a curiously conflicting mass of qualities and defects. Indeed, the lights and shadows would have yielded about the average human blend, had it not been for the one talent, amounting to genius, by virtue of which the Florentine diplomat was enabled to gain an insight into the nature of the state. The humble and essentially modest functionary had an inquisitive mind which, averse to delusion and unblinded by hypocrisy, saw things as they were. He was a timeserver, on occasion, to the point of a disgusting servility; a haunter of the tavern and the bawdyhouse, capable of dropping in word and act to unimaginable depths of obscenity and lewdness. On account of his narrow political talent he was not an historian and in his *Storie Fiorentine* produced a distinctly second-rate work; but—and

here our sharply analytical author is on hand with chapter and verse—by his two master works, *Il Principe* and *I Discorsi*, he proved himself a thinker of unequaled penetration along strictly governmental lines. And the reason for his excellence, apart from the always problematical “gift of nature”, is his long practice of politics in the Florence and Italy of the period of foreign conquest. For Machiavelli was primarily a man of action. Only when circumstances forbade him to act did he begin to write. In all this there is perhaps not a single novel contention. But the balanced judgment displayed throughout arouses confidence and the journey proceeds swiftly, without excursions prompted by an uncontrolled imagination, along a *via media* mapped out by the stern norms of historical criticism.

*The University of Chicago.*

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and the West Indies, January, 1716–July, 1717; August, 1717–December, 1718, preserved in the Public Record Office.* Edited by CECIL HEADLAM, M.A., F. R. HIST. S. Two volumes. (London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1930. Pp. lxviii, 444; lxviii, 542. £1 10 s.; £1 15 s.)

*Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, from January, 1734/5 to December, 1741, preserved in the Public Record Office.* (London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1930. Pp. 447. £1 10 s.)

*Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America.* Edited by LEO FRANCIS STOCK. Volume III., 1702–1727. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1930. Pp. xxvi, 571. Paper, \$4.00; cloth, \$5.00.)

THE issue in the year 1930 of two new volumes of the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, carrying the subject to the end of the year 1718, of an additional volume of the *Journal* of the Board of Trade, bringing its proceedings to the end of the year 1741, and of a third volume of Dr. Stock's invaluable series of *Debates* for the years from 1702 to April 29, 1727, is a cause for congratulation on the part of everyone interested in the British end of our colonial story. Only one who has worked among the papers at the Public Record Office or has turned the pages of the bulky folios containing the proceedings of the two houses of Parliament can appreciate the usefulness and convenience of these volumes. By bringing together into close association, in a few readily handled volumes, this great mass of scattered material, hitherto difficult of access, they make possible a sounder interpretation of the evidence and furnish an opportunity to study in sequence the details of many an event or policy, the incidents and operations of which were often prolonged over a number of years. When the volumes of the *European Treaties* are completed under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washing-

ton, and when the British government shall have pushed forward its work on the Colonial Office Papers and the Treasury Books and Papers and shall have faced with promise of publication the problem of calendaring the Admiralty and War Office papers, then a new version of our colonial history will be ready for the making.

The contents of all these volumes are of the same general character as are those of the volumes that have preceded them. The Journal of the Board of Trade is printed in full, carrying the subject to 1741, twenty-three years later than the date of the last document calendared in the Colonial series. Consequently it introduces us to scores of papers that are referred to only by title or in brief entry, the full text of which is available only in manuscript. It is, therefore, a somewhat tantalizing experience to read this volume and the three previous volumes of the Journal, knowing that in most cases copies of these documents can be obtained only by correspondence or by a visit to the Public Record Office itself. The work of calendaring inevitably moves more slowly than does the preparation of the Journal for the press, owing to the many problems which calendaring involves, the great number of documents to be examined, and the existence of so large an amount of material as to confine each volume to a period of only one or two years. The two series will always be used together, as each supplements and completes the other. After reading carefully all these volumes, I can say that in interest and value those of the *Calendar* yield in no way to the earlier volumes, and that the content of the *Journal*, while perhaps treating of less important business than had come before some of the earlier boards, shows no marked diminution in the activities of the board itself, and registers no attempts whatever at interference on the part of the secretary of state.

Dr. Stock's volume calls for a brief additional statement. It is difficult to speak temperately of its indispensability as a work of reference, a tool of trade. Within the compass of something over five hundred pages are to be found the essential contents, as far as colonial history is concerned, of at least a dozen heavy unwieldy folio volumes of *Lords* and *Commons Journals*—never at hand in one's own study—supplemented by entries from the Scottish and Irish parliamentary records and many extracts from private parliamentary collections and other sources, all of which are carefully enumerated in the preface. The annotations are full, accurate, and informative. While I think that the editor would have obtained a clearer understanding of parliamentary activities than that which he has given us in the preface and would have avoided some errors had he followed the chronological order in narrating the events of Queen Anne's reign (pp. iii-v), nevertheless I can find very little fault with what he has written. May no untoward circumstance arise at any time to prevent the completion of his work.

Yale University.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.



*Verney Letters of the Eighteenth Century from the MSS. at Claydon House.* Edited by MARGARET MARIA, LADY VERNEY, LL.D. Two volumes. (London: Ernest Benn; New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1930. Pp. ix, 401; ix, 355. \$15.00.)

THE late Mr. John Bruce in 1845 edited for the Camden Society Sir Ralph Verney's notes on the Long Parliament (*Verney Papers: Notes and Proceedings in the Long Parliament*, Camden Society, volume XXXI.). Eight years later he published through the same society selections from the mass of materials at Claydon House extending through the year 1639 (*Letters and Papers of the Verney Family down to the End of the Year 1639*, Camden Society, volume LVI.). Five years after the publication of the latter volume Lady Frances Parthenope Verney came into the family by marriage and began her long labor of love on its muniments and papers. At her death she left one volume completed and materials ready for a second. These two volumes appeared in 1892 with the title *Memoirs of the Verney Family during the Civil War*. The second volume contained an explanatory note by Margaret Maria, Lady Verney, who began the work where the elder matron laid it down. As the fruit of her labors there appeared in 1894 volume III., *Memoirs of the Verney Family during the Commonwealth, 1650-1660*; and in 1899, volume IV., *Memoirs of the Verney Family from the Restoration to the Revolution, 1660-1696*. The two concluding volumes now published bring the records of this important house to the end of the eighteenth century. The first covers the period from 1696 to 1717; the second, from 1717 to 1799.

These final volumes are perhaps as important to students of the history of the eighteenth century for what they do not contain as for the materials brought to light. We see an established country family busy adding to its estates, negotiating marriages for its sons and daughters, and exercising a real weight in public affairs, local as well as national. An interesting chapter is allotted to the difficulties surmounted by Colonel John Lovett, who married a daughter of the house, in building his Eddystone lighthouse. The center of the family interest was ever provincial; when a member went to attend Parliament, to which he was elected after the expenditure of much time and money, he was more apt to think of the wife and children, frequently left at home, of the tenants on his estates, and of neglected opportunities for rural sports than of national affairs.

These papers thus help us to achieve a sense of proportion. The Verneys and their connections were undoubtedly substantial members of the English ruling class in their day, rivals of the Grenvilles for local power in Buckinghamshire. Yet the author of these volumes refers to the name of Robert Walpole less than a dozen times. Neither of the famous Pitts is mentioned at all. The author refers once to Charles Fox and twice to Swift. Addison and Steele are each mentioned twice by the author, and Addison once in a letter; the name of the famous Dr.

Johnson does not occur. Burke appears as a debtor of Ralph, Lord Verney, whom he was slow to repay in the time of that nobleman's need. Most of the Verneys were religious, but neither Wesley nor Whitefield was in their world. The Duke of Newcastle is mentioned but once through his long career; Horace Walpole, the letter writer, is left out entirely. Neither Reynolds nor Gainsborough painted any of the numerous portraits that are reproduced.

Lady Verney has continued in these volumes both the good and bad qualities of the earlier ones. A chronological arrangement is sacrificed in an effort to tell by narrative and excerpts the stories of the various families in the Verney connection. Fortunately, the spelling of the letter writers is preserved, giving both a flavor of the time and hints concerning current pronunciation, especially of proper names.

*Duke University.*

W. T. LAPRADE.

*Les Occupations Étrangères en Belgique sous l'Ancien Régime.* Par HUBERT VAN HOUTTE, Professeur à l'Université de Gand. Two volumes and an Index. [Recueil de Travaux publiés par la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Gand, fascicules 62, 63, 64.] (Ghent: Van Rysselberghe and Rombaut. 1930. Pp. xxiii, 590; 546; 49.)

THIS admirable treatise breaks fresh ground. M. Van Houtte shows very clearly that while the diplomatic and military aspects of past wars have been abundantly discussed, their juridical side has been neglected. Study of the "laws of war" has concerned itself almost entirely with their theoretical aspect. Except for Lameire's able, but limited investigations, there has been no systematic effort to find out by plunging into the local archives themselves, just how war affected the civil population of Belgium in the Old Régime. Since Belgium was the cockpit of Europe then as always, the development of international law in this special phase can be nowhere studied to better advantage. M. Van Houtte begins more or less arbitrarily with the War of Devolution (1667), and concludes with the close of the War of the Austrian Succession (1748). The period covered has a distinct unity, being that of the dynastic wars between the days of religious and national hatreds. In that cool and happy eighteenth century even the fighting became less and less fierce both for warrior and for noncombatant until the *guerre en dentelles*, known as the War of the Austrian Succession.

In the systematic exposition to which his first volume is devoted, the author treats in successive chapters the declaration of war and its immediate effects, the beginning of the campaign with the expense and damage produced by the army of the legitimate sovereign and his allies, the invasion, the *pays de contribution*, "military execution", and the refusal to pay tribute, the occupation proper, and finally its liquidation.

One of the most original chapters of the work is that dealing with the *pays de contribution*. This was a concept peculiar to the wars of that

time. It embraced the territory adjacent to that occupied by the enemy and not protected by any river large enough to afford military security. That a fixed sum might legitimately be levied from such a region was an accepted principle. An elaborate system of local treaties regulated the amount, permitting the issuance of passports to the inhabitants, by means of which trade was openly carried on between the belligerents. Only in case the tribute was not paid could "military execution" occur. This took the form at first of raiding villages, burning houses, and carrying off hostages, but by the end of the period it was softened into the light, temporary imprisonment of responsible citizens, sometimes in their own homes.

A rich volume of documents and statistics and an index of personal and place names complete this exhaustive work. A French translation of the numerous Flemish documents would have made them more accessible to the general reader.

*Goucher College.*

EUGENE N. CURTIS.

*Danmark-Norges Traktater, 1523-1750, med dertil hørende Aktstykker.* Udgivne af L. LAURSEN. Ottende Bind, 1683-1689. [Paa Carlsbergfondets Bekostning.] (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad. 1930. Pp. 675.)

LAURSEN'S edition of Denmark-Norway's treaties, begun in 1905, has reached volume eight. These documents with their extended comment present a remarkably complete and detailed history of Danish-Norwegian diplomacy from the break-up of the Scandinavian Union in 1523 to the beginning of the War of the Augsburg League in 1689. And the end is not yet; the present series is to conclude with the year 1750, from which point another series, published by the Danish foreign ministry, is promised for the period to 1879. The most valuable single source for the period before 1523 is Rydberg's *Sverges Traktater*, which from that date on runs parallel to Laursen's work. At that, the printed documentary record is by no means complete; Denmark-Norway's early relations with eastern Slavdom still remain to be worked out, to mention but a single example.

*Danmark-Norges Traktater* is, so far as the present writer is aware, the most ambitious project of its kind thus far attempted in any country. The generosity of the Carlsberg Foundation has permitted the editor to devote nearly two-thirds of the space to a detailed and carefully documented account of the negotiations that preceded the treaties or drafts of treaties. Happily for the student of diplomatic history, the drafts of treaties that failed of ratification have been included. All treaties for which the rulers of Denmark-Norway were responsible, whether as kings or as dukes of Schleswig and Holstein, are here; likewise marriage treaties and renunciation of crown rights, agreements and treaties reached with the duchies, and arrangements with episcopal bodies in north German and other bishoprics when Danish princes were elected as prince-bishops.



All appear in the language of the official documents. This volume is largely devoted to the diplomatic moves that preceded the War of the Augsburg League. During these years Denmark-Norway was in danger of isolation because of the attitude of Sweden, the Netherlands, Hamburg, Brunswick-Lüneburg, and the Empire. The tortuous course of the very secret bargains and understandings of the period has up to now been only partly illuminated through the Prussian *Urkunden und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte des Kurfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg*, and the French *Recueil des Instructions données aux Ambassadeurs*, etc. With Laursen's discussions and texts, little is left to the imagination, and the historian may proceed with considerable confidence through the diplomatic jungle.

The Great Elector, Frederick William I., found himself able to take advantage of Denmark-Norway's situation by negotiating with Christian V. the treaty of November 24, 1685, by which Brandenburg-Prussia secured trading stations on the West Indian island of St. Thomas and on the Guinea coast—Prussia's only ventures in colonial expansion before the era of Bismarck. Danish attempts to induce Jewish fugitives from France and Portugese Jews to settle on St. Thomas are here related for the first time. Christian V.'s agreement with one Jan Somer Nicolas for a similar purpose offers entirely new material. The drift of Danish-Norwegian diplomacy is seen in the closing document, the treaty of August 15, 1689, by which Christian V. concluded an agreement with William III. of England respecting the mercenary troops that the latter desired for his campaign in Ireland against his deposed Stuart adversary, James II. These troops, which the Danish king requested should be placed directly under Marshal Schomberg, were to play a prominent part in the battle of the Boyne.

WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD.

*The University of California at Los Angeles.*

*Studies in Eighteenth-Century Diplomacy, 1740-1748.* By Sir RICHARD LODGE, M.A., LL.D., LITT.D., Emeritus Professor of History in the University of Edinburgh. (London: John Murray. 1930. Pp. xiii, 421. 12 s.)

*Private Correspondence of Chesterfield and Newcastle, 1744-1746.* Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Sir RICHARD LODGE, M.A., LL.D., LITT.D. (London: Royal Historical Society. 1930. Pp. xlv, 155.)

*British Diplomatic Instructions, 1689-1789.* Volume VI., *France, 1727-1744.* Edited for the Royal Historical Society by L. G. WICKHAM LEGG, M.A., F. R. HIST. S., Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford. [Camden Third Series, volume XLIII.] (London: the Society. 1930. Pp. xl, 255.)

THESE works of Sir Richard Lodge are the first thorough study of British foreign relations during the decade from 1740 to 1750 made by an

English scholar since the monumental works of Archdeacon Coxe on Sir Robert Walpole and his times. The industrious archdeacon carried on his research in the eighteenth century, and a vast wealth of primary source material has subsequently been made available to scholars. Continental writers have depended too much on their own archives. Now the British archives have been fully exploited and a fair and balanced account of many obscure negotiations of the period has been provided.

Sir Richard Lodge pays almost no attention to the British war with Spain. His first two chapters deal with the little known period between Frederick of Prussia's First and Second Silesian wars, when Carteret tried unsuccessfully to carry out his grandiose plans to settle the fate of all Europe. The third chapter deals with the attempt of the French minister, D'Argenson, to draw Sardinia into dependence upon France, and the fourth, with his scheme to win over the Dutch. The second half of the book carries the narrative of the diplomacy from August, 1746, to the conclusion of the treaty of peace at Aix-la-Chapelle. The author's detailed studies show clearly that the alienation of Austria from Great Britain by no means began with the treaty of 1748, but went back many years earlier. Hence his very careful attention to the work of D'Argenson and of the fourth Earl of Sandwich as negotiator in Holland. The author's studies have thrown much light on the workings of the cabinet system at that time and the relations of Newcastle with Harrington and Chesterfield and their relations with Sandwich.

The second volume under review—the *Private Correspondence of Chesterfield and Newcastle*—supplies more information along the same line, especially regarding the efforts of Newcastle, secretary of state for the southern department, to dominate the secretary of state for the northern department and thus secure much needed unity in foreign policies. Not until 1782 was this cumbersome system of the two secretaries of state for foreign affairs abolished. "This was what Newcastle had desired, but he had to strive for it by underhand means."

The Chesterfield correspondence here printed is found in the Newcastle Papers (British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 32,704 and 32,804). Chesterfield's letters are the originals and Newcastle's are copies made by his secretary. The editor has written an introduction of forty-five pages giving an interesting narrative and interpretation of the correspondence. The latter is divided into two nearly equal parts, the first comprising the letters written while Chesterfield was British special envoy at The Hague, December, 1744, to May, 1745, and the second, those written when he was serving in Ireland, August, 1745, to October, 1746. The letters of the first group are all private and confidential; of the second, partly official and partly private. The main interest of the letters lies in their frank references to the domestic affairs of England and the main problems of European politics. Newcastle felt keenly the need of Chesterfield's help in politics and his advice on foreign affairs, but it is interesting "to note that nearly all Chesterfield's forecasts proved to be wrong and that Newcastle displays a far more extensive and accurate

insight into the affairs of Europe". Newcastle is shown to have been far less incompetent than he is often represented. His experience and painstaking industry did much to offset lack of outstanding ability.

The third book for this review comprises instructions to the British ambassador in France and selected dispatches from him, between 1727 and 1744. These papers cover the embassies of Horatio Walpole and the first Earl Waldegrave in Paris and some correspondence between Lord Harrington and Horatio Walpole at The Hague, 1734-1735. They are official letters and therefore need to be supplemented by private letters exchanged between Newcastle and his subordinates during the period. They are drawn from the Newcastle Papers in the British Museum and the State Papers at the Record Office. The correspondence deals with a number of rather dull details, but helps to throw light on the difficulties surmounted by Sir Robert Walpole and his agents in their efforts to keep the peace between Britain and France, especially during the War of the Polish Succession.

*The University of North Dakota.*

CLARENCE PERKINS.

*The American Revolution and the British Empire.* By R. COUPLAND, M.A., C.I.E., Fellow of All Souls College and Beit Professor of Colonial History in the University of Oxford, Associate Member of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. [The Sir George Watson Lectures for 1928, delivered before the University of London in the winter of 1928-1929.] (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1930. Pp. vii, 331. \$4.50.)

*British Policy and Canada, 1774-1791: a Study in 18th Century Trade Policy.* By GERALD S. GRAHAM, M.A., A.M., PH.D., late Sir George Parkin Scholar at Trinity College, Cambridge. [Royal Empire Society, Imperial Studies, no. 4.] (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1930. Pp. xi, 161. \$4.00.)

PROFESSOR COUPLAND'S eight lectures, read in sequence, are provocative, as, undoubtedly, they were intended to be. The expression "equality of status" used in connection with a resolution of the imperial conference of 1926 has, from its ambiguity, become an apple of discord amongst students of imperial relations. But to Professor Coupland, equality of status means precisely equality of status: a moral valuation not to be challenged too sharply by a profane and legalistic scrutiny. Not all his critics will agree with him in the view that in the imperial conference of 1926 British statesmen had at last "learned the lesson of 1783"; nor will they ever wish to echo the almost evangelical vehemence with which he exhorts his readers to a profession of faith in the newer imperial equality. The historical portions of the book suffer from the fact that they are designed as a medium of exhortation. Professor Coupland sees too clearly and proves too conclusively—as though it were a theological demonstration—that the original sin of British imperialism was the



graceless insistence upon the subordination and dependence of overseas possessions, including Ireland, to the mother country. From a possible repetition of such a disaster the British Empire has slowly redeemed itself through experimental groping toward a newer imperial relationship—the “Great Experiment” of equality. Successive steps in the process Professor Coupland fits all too readily into the scheme he has prepared for them. He puts the case for the imperial equalitarian so far as the case can be elucidated and supported by an *ad hoc* review of empire history. One might feel greater confidence in Professor Coupland’s contentions had he admitted frankly that there were other possible interpretations of empire history—even of the imperial conference of 1926—than his own; but then, exhortation is not always well served by argumentative completeness and impartiality.

*British Policy and Canada* is a graduate student’s production, intended, presumably, to exhibit proficiency in research. It does so admirably. For that very reason it is more a formal than substantive contribution to the subject. The title inspires misgivings; for, only with doubtful propriety should Canada be the designation either of territory or of government between 1774 and 1791: officially the term disappeared from America. Mention of a colonial secretary in the period between 1782 and 1801 suggests a latitude in administrative terms not sanctioned by usage. A reference to Adam Lymburner (p. 109) as “agent for the English party in Canada” is an ambiguity involving far too much unnecessary confusion. There is a lyrical note at the very end.

British statesmen had dreamed a dream, as glorious and as visionary as any which had gripped La Salle or the ‘Grand Monarque’. In the heart of North America, a new Anglo-Saxon nation should arise, linked to its Mother Country through Canada, by the strong, far-reaching arm of British commerce. It was a dim fantasy created in the smoke of an awakening industrial England.

This seems to invite the rejoinder that there was scarcely enough industrial smoke in the England of the 1780’s to be responsible for such a fantasy. If a long thesis like this must be ended on a high pitch, why not let the last note rest upon such an outstanding figure as Sir Alexander Mackenzie? His actual and tangible accomplishment—giving the Canada of his day a continental outlook through his journey to the Arctic and to the Pacific Coast—surely that is as noteworthy as the official hallucinations of the Board of Trade?

McGill University.

C. E. FRYER.

*Cahiers de Doléances des Corps et Corporations de la Ville d’Alençon pour les États Généraux de 1789.* Publiés avec une Introduction et des Notes par RENÉ JOUANNE, Archiviste de l’Orne. [Collection de Documents Inédits sur l’Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française, Département de l’Orne.] (Alençon: Imprimerie Alençonnaise. 1929. Pp. lxxxviii, 168. 28 fr.)

*Cahiers de Doléances du Bailliage du Havre (Secondaire de Caudebec) pour*, etc. Publiés par E. Le PARQUIER, Professeur Honoraire au Lycée Corneille et à l'École Supérieure des Sciences et des Lettres de Rouen. [Collection, etc., Département de la Seine-Inférieure.] (Épinal: Imprimerie Lorraine. 1929. Pp. xlv, 292. 20 fr.)

*Cahiers de Doléances pour*, etc., *Bailliage de Reims*. (Introductory volume) *Reims et la Région Rémoise à la Veille de la Révolution, la Convocation des États Généraux de 1789*. Publiés par GUSTAVE LAURENT, Adjoint au Maire de Reims, Conseiller Général de la Marne, Directeur des *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française*. [Tomes IV., V., Collection, etc., Département de la Marne.] (Reims: Matot-Braine. 1930. Pp. cccxi, 1150. 63 fr.)

*Cahiers de Doléances des Bailliages des Généralités de Metz et de Nancy, pour*, etc. Tome III., *Cahiers du Bailliage de Vézélise*. Publiés par CHARLES ÉTIENNE, Directeur du Lycée de Thionville. [Collection, etc., Département de Meurthe-et-Moselle.] (Nancy: Berger-Levrault. 1930. Pp. xv, 486. 26 fr.)

OF these volumes, that for Reims and the southern half of the bailiwick of Reims is the fourth in the series for the department of the Marne. The introduction constitutes volume V. A sixth is to contain the cahiers of communities which are now in the departments of the Ardennes, the Meuse, and the Aisne. The volume for Vézélise embodies the third and last collection preserved in the archives of Meurthe-et-Moselle.

A glance at these volumes is sufficient to show what a wide variety of interest is presented by the cahiers. The collection for Alençon, as the title implies, is composed exclusively of cahiers of guilds and other corporate bodies of the city. That for Havre is almost equally so, the bailiwick having only five rural parishes. In the case of Vézélise we are concerned with rural communities, for there was no large town. Vézélise itself had less than two thousand inhabitants in 1789. With Reims, interest is more divided. The city was one of the most notable in France, while the *région Rémoise* of the bailiwick had over one hundred rural parishes.

In the cahiers of the guilds there are many echoes of Turgot's attempt at abolition, and of the effort a year later to carry out a more moderate scheme of reform. At Alençon the consequences seem to have been anarchy. In Reims the guilds were not content with the partial restoration of 1777, but wanted to recover their old privileged position. As Havre was an important port of entry, the decisions of the government affecting trade naturally provoked comment. American readers will be interested to note that the *arrêt* of August 30, 1784, opening the Western

Indies to certain classes of foreign goods, called forth lively protest. The cahiers reaffirmed the old mercantilist doctrine that a colony's trade belonged to the mother country. The treaty of 1786 with England also came in for a share of denunciation.

Reims presents a different, and in some respects, an even more interesting set of problems. One element is the dependence of a large body of people dwelling in the valley of the Suippe upon the clothmakers of the city. M. Laurent in his introduction describes these peasants, half farmer, half artisan, as wretchedly poor, hardly able to wrest from an ungrateful soil a scanty subsistence which wages pitifully small did not supply. Another portion of the rural population was occupied with vineyards. Their cahiers protest vigorously against the banality of the *pressoir*, which hindered their efforts to improve the quality of their wine and so extend their market. M. Laurent remarks that several more prosperous vintners, the Moëts at Cumières and the Van der Vekens at Rilly, had succeeded in ridding themselves of the obligation. For this industry the Revolution was a deliverance and from it dates the rapid development of champagne and other fine wines. It may be said in passing that most of the feudal properties in Reims and the region roundabout belonged to ecclesiastics. Attacks on the privileges of the Church consequently aroused little resentment.

The work of the editors can excite only praise. Both M. Jouanne and M. Le Parquier have furnished substantial introductions, while, as already noted, M. Laurent has given us a volume of over four hundred pages upon all phases of the life of Reims and the surrounding country which would in any way contribute to a comprehension of the cahiers. He has embellished the text with illustrations of personages and buildings. All the editors have studied the question of organized propaganda in its influence upon the contents of the cahiers. In Vézélise, according to M. Étienne, a doctor, J. B. Salle, who was to perish with the Girondins in 1794, was so influential that he wrote the cahier of the town and was one of the commissioners who prepared that of the third estate of the bailiwick. He also drew up a set of instructions for the deputies of whom he was one.

*The Jacobins: an Essay in the New History.* By CLARENCE CRANE BRINTON, PH.D., Assistant Professor of History, Harvard University. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. x, 319. \$2.50.)

OF the two most recent studies of the Jacobins the bulky volume of De Cardenal, *La Province pendant la Révolution: Histoire des Clubs Jacobins, 1789-1795* (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIV. 828-829), dealt as definitively as was then possible with the origins, the political tactics, and the part played by the Jacobin clubs in the events of the Revolution. Mr. Brinton's independent examination of these same topics, where it parallels De Cardenal's treatment, corroborates the latter's conclusions; on



the question of changes in the Jacobin personnel after 1793 it is a valuable corrective. But the great value of Mr. Brinton's study lies in the author's full and penetrating treatment of Jacobin ideas, an aspect of Jacobinism on which the French work is most weak. He is not content with the French historian's statement that, "obligés de lutter, ils durent renoncer à édifier". Jacobinism, his essay in the *New History* tells us, was more than tactics, more than a form of class struggle for the followers and a desire for power on the part of the leaders. It was a state of mind with a platform (political, social, and moral), a faith, and a ritual. His specific problem, then, is to discover "generalizations" concerning the Jacobin *qua* Jacobin "which will have as much as possible of the force of scientific laws". Furthermore, he hopes from his specific conclusions concerning the Jacobins to find answers for such perplexing questions in political psychology as why men revolt, how numerous are the revolutionists in a revolutionary movement, what relation is there between majority and minority in revolutionary action, what is the effect of propaganda, and what relation is there between ideas and want in the consciousness of the revolutionists? In this regard his inquiry and his answers, with which all will not agree, have a very definite appeal to the nonprofessional reader.

The organization of his material, which substitutes logic for time sequence and the finding of similarities for particular events, is thoroughly consistent throughout. There are successive chapters on the organization, membership, tactics, platform, ritual, and faith of the Jacobins, as well as an introduction and a conclusion. Each chapter is subdivided very clearly into smaller sections and most of the chapters are summarized briefly at the end. The documentation is full, the index serviceable, and the sixteen statistical tables in appendix II. extremely valuable for reference. The author's procedure is, wherever possible, statistical. Applied in an endeavor to determine the character of Jacobin membership, it yields most illuminating conclusions which effectively demolish the older conceptions of Jacobins as misfits, frustrates, or failures, and shows conclusively that they were of impressive social respectability, even during the Terror. Elsewhere, his method is an "intuitive condensing of hundreds of experiences, or examples, into one typical experience or example", a procedure largely utilized for the chapters on Jacobinism as a state of mind and for the general conclusions.

Within the limits of a brief review one may do little more than state the merits of this excellent work. The author's analysis and description in each of the chapters are painstaking and fresh, his appreciations, quick and penetrating. His treatment of the platform of Jacobinism, which, if I interpret it rightly, was something akin to a pool to which individual Jacobins contributed according to their ideas and from which they drew according to their wants independently of or in opposition to their concrete interests, is suggestive and the most original feature of his work. With at least one of Mr. Brinton's general con-

clusions the reviewer is not in accord, namely, with that one in which it is stated that "the Jacobins present the extraordinary spectacle of men acting without any apparent regard for their material interests". That statement seems to disregard certain distinctions made earlier and is based on a certain antithesis which is not clear. This objection apart—and it is at best disputable—the author's original approach to a problem which has never before been systematically examined, his keen conclusions, tempered by sound reservations, and his well-rounded generalizations make this work an invaluable one for all students of the French Revolution.

*Long Island University.*

LEO GERSHOY.

*L'Éveil des Nationalités et le Mouvement Libéral, 1815-1848.* Par GEORGES WEILL, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Caen. [Peuples et Civilisations, Histoire Générale, tome XV. Publiée sous la Direction de Louis Halphen et Philippe Sagnac.] (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1930. Pp. 592. 60 fr.)

M. WEILL is already known to students of modern history as the author of a number of admirable manuals on nineteenth century France. In this latest work, one is at once aware of an experienced hand. Professor Brinton has previously spoken (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVI. 128), of the "successful compactness" of the volume on the French Revolution in this series. This characterization is even more true of M. Weill's work which, unlike some of the earlier volumes, was written by a single author.

The book opens with a narrative of political history from 1815 to 1830. The whole period is treated as a history of the Holy Alliance, and the story of the internal changes in the various countries is fitted into this framework. Such a plan proves somewhat unsatisfactory. For example, the history of Portugal in the period is divided into several widely separated paragraphs. Hence the reader arrives neither at a very satisfactory conception of the political movement in any given country, nor—as was intended—at a clear understanding of the evolution of the Holy Alliance as a form of international government.

Perhaps the outstanding new feature of M. Weill's treatment lies in his discussion of the secret societies of the Restoration. He shows that while these societies shared a common ideology, they did not, as Metternich insisted, possess any international organization. The next section of the book treats the revolutions of 1830, and the history of the Balkans from about 1800 through the Greek Revolution. Here, as elsewhere, the narrative makes much use of new monographic material.

The heart of the volume, and its most original contribution as a work of synthesis, is the next two sections on intellectual and social movements. They are excellent. Nothing of importance seems to be omitted, with the one exception noted below, and nothing is overdone. In fact, throughout the whole narrative the perspective is never lost, and one may fairly

compare the international outlook of the work with Brandes's *Main Currents of Nineteenth Century Literature*.

The section on the intellectual movement begins with an extended discussion of the activities of the churches, and the growth of free thought and anticlericalism. This is followed by a brilliant chapter on the Romantic Movement in literature, the fine arts, and music, all skillfully treated from an international point of view. The description of the intellectual movement in the first half of the nineteenth century is concluded with a less satisfactory, though still useful, discussion of science and invention.

The "economic and social movement", as M. Weill handles it, is a description first of the activities of the *bourgeoisie* in banking, industry, commerce, and government, followed by a discussion of the life of the working classes and the rise of trade-unionism and socialism. This chapter, in the reviewer's opinion, would have been improved by the addition of short sections on the life of the old aristocracy and of the peasants, two groups left over from the *Ancien Régime* whose importance it is easy to overlook. The last two sections treat respectively the political history from 1840 through 1847, and the world outside Europe, the latter including an excellent short account of American history in the period.

This somewhat formal analysis gives no adequate notion of the usefulness of an admirable book. There is nothing to compare with it in English, and it should be translated. The volume in German in the *Propyläen Weltgeschichte* is inferior. Here, in short, is another magistral "ouvrage de vulgarisation" such as only a competent French scholar seems able to write.

The book is supplied with an index—always something of a surprise in French works—and each chapter has a brief bibliographical footnote. Here we are reminded again, so important have bibliographical labors become, of Anatole France's remark that "we shall all have to end by becoming librarians".

Oberlin College.

FREDERICK B. ARTZ.

*The Question of Greek Independence: a Study of British Policy in the Near East, 1821-1833.* By C. W. CRAWLEY, M.A., Fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. ix, 272. \$5.00.)

EMPHASIS in this work is placed on the Greek question in international relations from 1821 to 1832. The first five chapters, which deal with phases of the question treated in Temperley's *Foreign Policy of Canning*, contain little that is new, but the remainder of the work covers ground which has not been adequately explored heretofore and contributes particularly to our understanding of the Near Eastern policy of Wellington, 1828-1830. The work is a product of extensive research not only in published sources but in the unpublished materials of the British Museum and the archives of the British, Austrian, and Bavarian governments.



As a rule, the author avoids sweeping generalizations but he ventures the assertions that "Castlereagh and Canning took the only possible line" in the Greek question in 1821-1823 (p. 26), that "Canning's [Greek] policy was inspired not by 'Liberal ideas' but by plain common sense" (p. 33), that Wellington's policy "of continual delay and resistance [in the Levant] was the worst that he could have chosen" (p. 99), and that the Duke's "behaviour [in 1829] was typical of his methods of conducting government; growing irritation, angry threats, resistance to the last, and then a sudden *volte-face* to meet the inevitable" (p. 165). Capodistrias is blamed largely for the resignation of Prince Leopold as a candidate for the kingship of Greece in 1830. Generally, full justice is done to the policies of Great Britain's allies in the Levant, though one may question the assertion that "everywhere Russian agents served their imperial master ably, devotedly, and unscrupulously, making it their one aim to increase the power and prestige of the Tsar" (p. 4).

In the opinion of the reviewer the chief weakness of Mr. Crawley's work lies in its organization. The treatment is mainly chronological, but not entirely so, and the details of incidental happenings bulk so large in the narrative that they often tend to obscure ideas and policies of the European statesmen who were concerned with the settlement of the Greek question. This and the inclusion in the text of numerous quotations in French burdens the narrative and detracts from the style of the work.

In a series of appendixes the author includes, in addition to his bibliography, a summary of events related to the Greek Revolution, statistics for British trade with Turkey and Russia from 1817 to 1850, documents of interest with a memorandum of Stratford Canning on the Turco-Egyptian question, and charts with information about the governments of the powers and Turkey in the time of the revolution in Greece.

*The University of Illinois.*

F. S. RODKEY.

*L'Angleterre et l'Égypte: la Politique Mameluke, 1803-1807.* Par le Commandant GEORGES DOUIN. Tome II. [Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte, Publications Spéciales sous les Auspices de Sa Majesté Fouad I<sup>er</sup>.] (Cairo: L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. 1930. Pp. clv, 367.)

*L'Égypte et l'Europe, la Crise de 1839-1841: Correspondance des Consuls de France et Instructions du Gouvernement.* Recueillies et publiées avec une Notice Bibliographique, une Introduction, et des Commentaires Historiques par ÉDOUARD DRIAULT. Tome I., *Nézib: le Destin de l'Empire Ottoman, Avril-Octobre, 1839.* [Société Royale, etc.] (Cairo: L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. 1930. Pp. lxxx, 400.)

THESE two additions to the considerable body of archival materials already published by the Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte as a

monument to the founder of the present Egyptian dynasty follow the general plan of their predecessors. To the papers which M. Douin has judiciously selected from the British war and foreign offices he has added a monographic introduction of the analytical type for which he has become distinguished in other publications of the series. The central theme of this introductory essay is, briefly, that the policy of Great Britain during the years from 1803 to 1807, as far as the Near East was concerned, was to prevent another French occupation of Egypt and little more. There is nothing novel in this view. It has been set forth notably in Shafik Ghorbal's *The Beginnings of the Egyptian Question and the Rise of Mehemet Ali*, a study based in part on the documents included in the present collection. M. Douin's historical introduction and the texts of the dispatches themselves, however, supply new and interesting details, particularly with reference to British relations with Turkey and Russia during these years.

Quite in contrast with M. Douin's dispassionate treatment of the formative years of Mehemet Ali's régime, M. Driault, in eighty pages of introduction to his documentary selections from the French foreign archives, gives a decidedly dramatic interpretation of an early phase of the great crisis in the viceroy's career. It is difficult, certainly, to consider without some emotion the courage of the solitary old pasha in the face of the strangely united opposition of the powers, yet one can not escape the conviction that M. Driault's sincere admiration for an outstanding figure has impelled him to place a higher valuation on Mehemet Ali's accomplishments and character than will find support in the considerable mass of evidence available. It is very doubtful, for example (*cf.* p. xix), that the viceroy ever had an army of 100,000 men, except on paper. It is quite certain that his material resources were not so unlimited as M. Driault appears to believe (p. xx). And there is no very satisfactory evidence that Mehemet Ali had any genuine concern for the welfare of his Egyptian or Syrian subjects or for Islam as a whole, beyond the personal interests of himself and his family (*cf.* pp. xx, lxx, lxxvi, *passim*). Perhaps in this respect only can he appropriately be compared with the Emperor Napoleon I.: M. Driault's repeated comparisons of the two seem a bit strained. The documents included in this collection are significant and are well calendared in the Table Analytique des Matières. Some of them have previously been quoted at length by Sabry in his *L'Empire Égyptien sous Mohamed-Ali*. Four subsequent volumes of similar nature are being prepared by M. Driault to cover the later aspects of the Eastern crisis.

Tufts College.

HALFORD L. HOSKINS.

*L'Hellénisme et l'Égypte Moderne.* Par ATHANASE G. POLITIS.  
Tome I., *Histoire de l'Hellénisme Égyptien de 1798 à 1927*; tome  
II., *Contribution de l'Hellénisme au Développement de l'Égypte  
Moderne.* (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1930. Pp. iv, 531; 573. 100 fr.)

By way of providing a suitable canvas on which to depict the life and activities of his fellow countrymen in Egypt, M. Politis has devoted the greater part of the first volume of his work to a broad treatment of Egyptian history. While there have been Greek communities in Egypt since very early times, one long chapter has sufficed to trace their fortunes from the Minoan Age to the arrival of the French in Egypt in 1798, where the main theme of the book commences.

As the author makes clear, not many Hellenes had managed to retain their separate identity through the troublous times following the Turkish conquest of Egypt. The real beginning of modern Greek activity in Egypt dates from the French occupation and the accession to the Egyptian pashalic of the Albanian adventurer, Mehemet Ali. Under his tolerant and relatively enlightened rule considerable numbers of Greeks, often refugees from Turkish misrule, found Egypt the land of opportunity. Becoming *protégés* of the pasha, and exempt from many of the burdens imposed on the Moslem population, they grew and prospered. Presently they were able to found characteristic Greek colonies, first at Alexandria (1843) and subsequently in nearly all of the towns of Egypt. The history of these unassimilable, closely organized, wealthy communities contributes largely to an understanding of Egypt's inability to become a congruous nation in the nineteenth century.

The Greeks, as M. Politis shows with patriotic devotion, were peculiarly adapted to serve as pioneers of European civilization in such backward countries as Egypt and the Sudan, and their communal schools, hospitals, and philanthropic institutions inevitably have exerted a deep influence on the non-Christian elements of the population. The recounting of Greek contributions in the realms of agriculture, commerce, finance, industry, science, art, and literature, to which the second volume of this book is principally devoted, reveals the throbbing pulse of the Egypt of to-day. On occasion—much to the advantage of the reader—M. Politis permits his interest in the evolution of modern Egypt to lead him well beyond the immediate sphere of Greek accomplishments. Thus he speaks at length of Mehemet Ali's agricultural and industrial experiments, he notes the repercussions of the American Civil War on Egyptian cotton culture, and he illuminates some of the causes of the economic ills which have become so embarrassing to the present régime.

As Greek minister to Egypt in recent years, M. Politis has had unusual opportunities to gather materials for his study both from the archives of the organized Greek communities in Egypt and from his own legation records. He has documented his work with scrupulous care and the lists of authorities appended at the end of chapters show that little information essential to his theme has been overlooked. It is quite unfortunate



that an index has not been provided. Otherwise the book is very well constructed and, except where the author possibly has been a bit over-zealous in enumerating every instance of Greek enterprise in the country, is interesting. It will stand as a distinct contribution to our knowledge and understanding of modern Egypt.

*Tufts College.*

HALFORD L. HOSKINS.

*The Church of England and Social Reform since 1854.* By DONALD O. WAGNER. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, no. 325.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1930. Pp. 341. \$5.25.)

A century ago the Church of England had a very bad reputation among reformers. It neglected the victims of the Industrial Revolution. Ties of blood, education, and economic interest bound the clergy to the established order and the Tory party, so that they stood solidly against the trend toward democracy. They sermonized upon "Fear God and honor the King" and "Meddle not with them that are given to change". Exceptional individuals such as Lord Shaftesbury and the Christian Socialists might actively promote social reform, but "the church directly and as an organized body had a distinctly minor part in the readjustment of society made necessary by the contemporaneous industrial changes".

In this monograph the author traces such changes in the social outlook of the Church as have taken place since 1854. For the next quarter of a century after the dissolution of the Christian Socialist organization there existed no body within the Church with a program of social reform. There was interest in temperance and education, however, and Ludlow, Meale, Hughes, and others contributed much to adult education, trade-unionism, the coöperative movement, and the friendly societies. The author emphasizes this later work of the Christian Socialists and the activity of some clergymen in the agricultural laborers movement of the 1870's.

The end of the century witnessed a growing tendency to organize for social purposes. The settlement movement achieved practical results among the poor. The Guild of St. Matthew, the first English socialist society, and the Christian Social Union strove to guide the Church into new channels. In more recent years the Church Socialist League, the League of the Kingdom of God, and the Industrial Christian Fellowship continued that work. The measure of their success may be seen in the comprehensive program of social reform accepted by the Convocation of Canterbury in 1907, the committee report rather cautiously approved by the Lambeth conference of 1920, and the bold leadership of the two archbishops during the general strike of 1926. Many churchmen have traveled a long distance since the days of the Great Reform Bill and Chartism. It is significant that such socialists as R. H. Tawney and George Lansbury can remain in the Established Church. Yet the conversion is by no means complete. In spite of the activity of individuals

and groups, the author endorses as probably true the opinions of Bishop Gore delivered in 1921: "The Church as a whole, whether clerical or lay, remains, I fear, a body which as a whole the social reformer or the Labour man regards as something which is alien to his ends and aims, and which he finds irresponsible and dull."

Stanford University.

CARL F. BRAND.

*The Letters of Queen Victoria.* Third Series. *A Selection from Her Majesty's Correspondence and Journal between the Years 1886 and 1901.* Published by Authority of His Majesty the King. Edited by GEORGE EARLE BUCKLE, Editor of the Second Series. In three volumes. Volume I., 1886-1890. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1930. Pp. xvi, 688. \$9.00.)

IN the picture it offers of Victoria, this volume quite satisfies one's expectations (*cf.* on preceding volume, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIV. 593): in the information it supplies concerning European history in general it does much more. Whoever seeks fresh illustrations of the queen's determination to preserve the existing order throughout the United Kingdom, and of the irregular practices to which she sometimes had recourse, need only study her efforts to prevent the establishment of Home Rule in 1886. Unable, in spite of all her efforts, to avoid taking Gladstone once more for her premier, she tried to exclude all home rulers from the cabinet. The ministry formed, she personally encouraged Liberal Unionists to desert the premier and to make the reason for their defection known. While the Home Rule Bill was in Parliament she expressed her hope that it would meet defeat; and when her hope was gratified, and Salisbury had taken Gladstone's place, she worked earnestly to prevent the "Socialist Home Ruling" party from coming back to power. Turning to foreign policy, one finds the queen unchanged in her desire to guide the cabinet, and so to guide it as to keep England close to Germany and Germany's allies. Into this policy Rosebery, virtually placed in the foreign office by Salisbury and the queen, was indoctrinated; in this policy Salisbury, after his own accession, was supported at every turn. And both secretaries were enjoined (here readers of the queen's letters covering the Palmerstonian period may rub their eyes) to avoid cabinet discussion of foreign policy as much as possible. The correspondence between Victoria and these favored servants, covering a period for which so few official documents are readily accessible, is worth some attention from students of Continental history. On the Bulgarian imbroglio (which caused Victoria to fear that Bismarck was losing "his nerve and insight"!) there is copious material. On the Mediterranean pacts of 1887 (according to Salisbury, "as close an alliance as the character of our parliamentary institutions will permit"), and on the negotiations relating to Egypt, East Africa, and Heligoland there are papers of decided interest. But it is on the ex-

changes between London or Windsor and Berlin that the interest of most readers will perhaps center. For here, with tragedy and comedy going hand in hand, one may catch many fresh and intimate glimpses of fateful things: of the earliest public manifestations of William II.'s nervous instability, of the disgust and resentment aroused in Victoria and the Prince of Wales by his boorishness and megalomania, and of the disagreements underlying his final break with Bismarck.

Of the editing of the volume one need only say that the usual standard of excellence has been maintained. Students may question the editor's wisdom in giving so much space to ministerial reports of parliamentary debates; but the inclusion of these reports seems to be one of the secrets of his great success in making an absorbing narrative from such fragmentary materials.

Wesleyan University.

HERBERT C. BELL.

*Cánovas del Castillo: la Restauration Rénovatrice.* Par CHARLES BENOIST, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris: Plon. 1930. Pp. iv, 400. 30 fr.)

THE exile of Alfonso XIII. and the establishment of the second republic in Spain makes most timely a study of Cánovas del Castillo, the political leader of the restoration of the monarchy after Spain's first attempt at a republic in the past century. Charles Benoist, in his *Cánovas del Castillo*, gives a vivid picture of the renovating restoration carried out by this Spanish statesman. Sympathetic in viewpoint, the author holds that "there may have been perhaps statesmen more spontaneous, more original or more genial, as Bismarck or Cavour, but there has not been a more complete statesman than Cánovas del Castillo". The author of the manifesto of Sandhurst was he who, in 1873, prepared for the restoration of the monarchy and the renovation of Spain, and the following twenty-three years are so full of him that "their history is the life of this man". Cánovas del Castillo defined "politics as the art of the possible", but according to Benoist he did "much more than define, for starting from this axiom he resolved the problem of problems, he constructed".

Book I. gives a brief biographical sketch of Cánovas and a study of his character and political philosophy, in which his political creed is summarized in three articles, *viz.*: (1) the nation, (2) the constitutional monarchy, and (3) the hereditary dynasty. His ideal was parliamentary liberalism after the English fashion. The second book presents the historical setting of the restoration, including a survey of the history of Spain during the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century, the situation of Spain in 1874, the problems to be solved, and the solution of these problems as worked out up to 1894.

Book III. traces in detail the accomplishment of the restoration of the monarchy. The tottering republic, a military *coup d'état*, and active, open propaganda in favor of Prince Alfonso mark the preliminary steps.



The manifesto of Sandhurst and the insurrection at Sagunto set the stage for Cánovas del Castillo to take charge of the situation and organize the ministry of the regency, thus effecting the actual restoration. Then followed under his direction the return of the monarch, the drafting of the constitution of 1876, the development of a party of opposition under Sagasta, and finally, the testing of the efficacy of the organization of the modern monarchy in the death of Alfonso XII. and the accession to the regency of Maria Christina awaiting the birth of Alfonso XIII. Thus, in conformity with the philosophy of Cánovas del Castillo, "the necessary had been made possible and the possible had been realized". A concluding chapter on the renovating restoration characterizes the Spanish restoration as a model of its kind. It is unfortunate that a bibliography is not included in this most interesting study of nineteenth century Spain.

Leonia, New Jersey.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

*Die Auswärtige Politik Serbiens, 1903-1914.* Von Dr. M. BOGHITSCHEWITSCH. Band I., *Geheimakten aus Serbischen Archiven*; Band II., *Diplomatische Geheimakten aus Russischen, Montenegrinischen, und Sonstigen Archiven*; Band III., *Serbien und der Weltkrieg.* (Berlin: Brückenverlag. 1928, 1929, 1931. Pp. viii, 451; viii, 617; viii, 223. 17 M. each.)

*Oesterreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik von der Bosnischen Krise 1908 bis zum Kriegsausbruch 1914: Diplomatische Aktenstücke des Oesterreichisch-Ungarischen Ministeriums des Aeussern.* Ausgewählt von LUDWIG BITTNER, ALFRED FRANCIS PRIBRAM, HEINRICH SRBIK, und HANS UEBERSBERGER. Bearbeitet von Ludwig Bittner und Hans Uebersberger. 8 Bände und Registerband. [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Neuere Geschichte Oesterreichs, Bde. 19-27.] (Vienna and Leipzig: Oesterreichischer Bundesverlag für Unterricht, Wissenschaft, und Kunst. 1930. Pp. xxvii, 894; 950; 838; 1090; 1122; 1110; 1098; 980. 330 M.)

DR. BOGHITSCHEWITSCH has long been known as one of the best informed students of Serbian pre-war policy. Having taken a law degree at Berlin in 1903, and having served as professor of law at the University of Belgrade, he was persuaded by King Peter I. to enter the diplomatic service as chargé d'affaires at Paris during the First Moroccan Crisis and at Berlin from 1907 to May, 1914, when he was appointed Serbian consul at Cairo. In 1915, convinced that the Central Powers were soon to make a drive against his native country, he left Cairo without authorization from his government in a personal effort to prevent the feared catastrophe to Serbia. Making use of friendships formed earlier, in unofficial talks with M. Jules Cambon in Paris and with Herr Zimmermann in Berlin, he sought to find a basis for a general European peace before Serbia should be overrun by enemy armies. But his effort, like

so many other efforts for peace, failed, and he was rewarded for his pains by dismissal from the Serbian service, as he relates in an appendix (III. 186 ff.).

Dr. Boghitschewitsch's documentary collection, unlike those of most other countries, is not official; in fact, his personal safety would be in danger at Belgrade. But, though the Belgrade archives remain closed to him, as to everyone else, he has been able at Moscow and Vienna and from his own personal papers and connections to gather a valuable collection of Serbian material covering the years from the assassination of King Alexander in 1903 to the outbreak of war in 1914. These comprise his first volume. His second volume is mainly a reprint of the most important documents relating primarily to Serbia and the Austro-Serbian problem which have already been published by Siebert, by Marchand and Stieve from the Izvolski correspondence, in *Krasnyi Arkhiv* from the Hartwig and Nekliudov papers relating to the formation of the Balkan League, in *Die Grosse Politik*, and in the earlier Austrian, French, and Bulgarian collections. His third volume, by far the most interesting, consists of an analysis of all these documents, together with those recently published by the British and Austrian governments. He does not attempt a narrative of the events, which are now generally known in their main outline, but makes a critical survey of the actions of the principal ministers and of their consequences in leading to the World War. He is very severe upon Aehrenthal for his arrogance, unbending attitude, failure to inform Berlin of Austria's vital needs, and other false steps in connection with the annexation of Bosnia in 1908, an episode which he rightly thinks led directly to the World War. But he is equally severe upon the actions of Milovanovitch and Pashitch, the successive Serbian ministers of foreign affairs, for their deceit and for their plotting with Russia against the territorial existence of Austria-Hungary. He is even more severe upon Izvolski and Sazonov and the Russian agents in the Balkans for their very secret connivance at the formation of the Balkan League directed against Austria as well as against Turkey, and for their frequent encouragement of Serbia to prepare for the "inevitable" war against the Dual Monarchy. It was not merely the conflict of interests between the different powers, he thinks, but the character of their statesmen which was largely responsible for the catastrophe of 1914.

The second work under review, the Austrian documents, is the most complete collection yet published for the years from 1908 to 1914. Eight thick volumes of closely printed material comprise 11,204 documents for these six years, as compared with some 17,000 documents in *Die Grosse Politik* and the Kautsky collections for the forty-three years from 1871 to 1914. The reputation of the editors as conscientious scholars is a guarantee, fully justified by an examination of their work, of the honesty and care with which the task of selection and editing has been done. About three-fourths of the documents concern Austria's relations with the Balkan states and give much the fullest picture yet available of the com-

plex and well-nigh insoluble Balkan problem. There is no space within the limits of this brief review to indicate the wealth of this new material, or even to summarize the fresh contributions which it makes. We can only say that it presents Austrian policy in many respects in a somewhat more favorable light. It emphasizes in particular the long patience which Aehrenthal and Berchtold exercised in the face of constant Serbian provocation and Russian intrigue. In the course of the atrocities committed by the Serbians in the Balkan Wars, for instance, it is clear that Austrian consuls like Prochaska (IV. 797 ff.) suffered far more than one would guess from Pashitch's euphemistic reference to "small irregularities on the part of the military authorities" (Serb. Docs., I. 283). In the Agram and Friedjung treason trials, which were used so much to discredit Austria in European opinion, the Austrians did not forge documents, but accepted at first in good faith documents forged by Serbians to deceive Austria. In this connection should be noted the fact, too often overlooked, that the Balkan mentality and ethical standards were quite different from those obtaining generally in Western Europe—forgeries and political murders were accepted by the Balkan Slavs as more or less legitimate and natural political weapons to which otherwise honorable men might properly resort. A Serbian official advocates as a matter of course the fabricating of documents to be used against the Bulgarians (Serb. Docs., I. 287). Murders like that of King Alexander in 1903, or like the series plotted by the "Black Hand" and culminating at Sarajevo, met with no such moral indignation in Belgrade or Sofia as in Berlin, Paris, or London. As to financial scruples, Prince Nicholas of Montenegro, by precipitating the Balkan War, took advantage of his official inside information to clean up a neat sum by stock market speculation. There are numerous references to the "Black Hand" and its activities, so that it is all the more surprising that the Austrians in their haste in drawing up the ultimatum against Serbia in 1914 did not make use of this material in their archives, instead of making the mistake of directing their main accusation against the *Narodna Odbrana*.

Harvard University.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

*Au Service de la France: Neuf Années de Souvenirs.* Par RAYMOND POINCARÉ, de l'Académie Française. Tome VI., *Les Tranchées, 1915*; Tome VII., *Guerre de Siège, 1915*. (Paris: Plon. 1930, 1931. Pp. 357; 378. 30 frs. each.)

THE most recent volumes of these illuminating memoirs, which M. Poincaré writes with such indefatigable energy, cover the difficult months from January 1 to December 31, 1915. They deal in considerable part, as the subtitles imply and as the photographs indicate, with President Poincaré's frequent visits to the trenches and the front, where the war of positions had brought something of a stalemate, and incidentally a good deal of friction between the English and French high commands, as well as among the French themselves.



A parliamentary commission was beginning to make increasingly severe attacks on M. Millerand, the minister of war, and upon the government, for the lack of French success and the insufficiency of munitions. The attacks were led by M. Charles Humbert, who had just bought the *Journal*, and by M. Clemenceau in *L'Homme Enchaîné*, the newspaper which replaced the censored and suppressed *L'Homme Libre*. M. Viviani, the prime minister, was greatly irritated and discouraged, and President Poincaré had to use all his tact and firmness to smooth matters along. Finally, M. Delcassé became so ill that he could not read foreign office papers without becoming dizzy, and repeatedly asked to be allowed to resign, not wishing to retain office and accept responsibility for policies which he could not actively appreciate or approve. President Poincaré several times persuaded him to postpone his resignation, fearing the disastrous effect it would have in England and Russia, where Delcassé was regarded as one of the staunchest supporters of the Allied cause. Finally, however, on October 12, 1915, Delcassé insisted decisively. M. Viviani, worn out and irritable, was not sorry to see him go, and soon followed him. Clemenceau, who had been the most violent and powerful opposition leader and critic of the government, refused to enter any cabinet in which he was not himself the prime minister. So M. Briand formed the new ministry.

The stalemate on the Franco-German front and the helplessness of Russia, owing to her lack of munitions and Sukhomlinov's incompetence, strengthened the hands of M. Poincaré and the French politicians, who, like the British "Easterners", favored a revival of a war of movement by a diversion in the Balkans and the expedition to the Dardanelles. In spite of the opposition of Joffre and most of the French military men, this was decided upon, and Sarraill was finally persuaded reluctantly to assume the command, as related in volume VI. The following volume tells the unfortunate sequel—the Gallipoli disaster, the landing at Salonica, and diplomatic conflict with Greece over infringement of her neutrality, the perilous difficulties of Sarraill's advance forces, and the terrible retreat of the Serbs to Albania and Corfu.

President Poincaré lifts the veil further upon the haggling by which Italy was finally induced to enter the war on the side of the Allies, and upon Sazonov's "inconvenient isolated initiatives" (VI. 208) and "disquieting versatility" (VI. 324) in making sudden, ill-considered, and irritating diplomatic moves without first consulting his French and English allies. Sazonov was ready to make a separate peace with Austria, provided Russia might secure Galicia, Serbia take Bosnia, and France be compensated with the left bank of the Rhine. Curiously enough, the Russian foreign minister was at first opposed to Italy's joining the Allies (VI. 96), fearing that *sacro egoismo* would come inconveniently into conflict with Russia's own Balkan aspirations. President Poincaré rather seeks to throw upon England the odium of the secret treaty concessions made to Italy and to Russia. If we accept his version, it is further evidence of the fact, already clear from the pre-war period, either that

Sazonov did not always deal frankly and considerately with his French ally, or that M. Paléologue, the French ambassador in Russia, was remiss in not finding out or notifying his government of Russia's intentions.

*Harvard University.*

SIDNEY B. FAY.

*Story of Near East Relief, 1915-1930: an Interpretation.* By JAMES L. BARTON. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. xxii, 479. \$2.50.)

THIS volume contains the well-nigh complete history of an enterprise peculiarly American in character. An offshoot of the Great War, the Near East Relief conveyed to persons in need five thousand miles away not merely the good wishes and the active energies of a large number of Americans, but actual goods to the value of more than \$100,000,000. By giving food, clothing, and shelter to hundreds of thousands of persons, a large number of human lives were preserved from destruction, the generous side of American character was revealed, and a definite influence was exerted upon the fortunes and history of several ancient peoples. The organization incorporated by act of Congress in August, 1919, was due to the initiative of Henry Morgenthau, American ambassador at Constantinople, with the support of James L. Barton, of the American Board of Foreign Missions, Boston, and of Cleveland H. Dodge, of New York.

The original amount desired by the first committee—\$100,000—was collected and forwarded within a month. The work expanded tremendously with the revelation of the extent of the need. The inevitable distresses of prolonged war conditions in impoverished lands were vastly increased by the policy of the Turkish government in deporting Armenians and isolating Syrians, and by the blockade of the Asiatic coasts of Turkey by warships of her enemies, while the flow and ebb of war between Turks and Russians dislodged other groups from their millennial homes. The American work was not confined to mere gifts of food and clothing. Hospitals and dispensaries were set up and orphans were gathered together in great numbers. At one time the Near East Relief was taking care of 132,000 orphan children in Syria, Turkey, the Caucasus, and Greece. Within eighteen months, supplies worth \$30,000,000 were distributed in the Caucasus alone. Additional needs developed out of the war between Turkey and Greece which continued to the end of 1922.

Among the political results of this enterprise were a strong influence toward keeping the United States from making war on Turkey, a strengthening of the pressure for an independent Armenian state, now only partially realized, and a support of the consolidation of Greece by assisting the settlement of a million Asiatic Greeks in Europe. Among results of the benevolent attitude of Americans were a widespread belief throughout the Near East in the unselfishness of our people, and perhaps an avoidance of extreme tension because of the attitude of certain Western Europeans who spoke bitterly of "Uncle Shylock".

Dr. Barton, assisted by Mr. H. C. Jaquith and others, has assembled in this volume the principal facts relating to the vast undertaking. The whole constitutes not merely a record, but a book of instructions in case the world becomes again so unfortunate as to need similar activities. In particular, the salvage, education, and placement of the thousands of orphans set a remarkable precedent. The book contains about sixty illustrations, useful maps, and at its close, a quantity of supplementary material, including the Articles of Incorporation of Near East Relief, an audited statement of its financial operations, and lists of the overseas personnel, state committees, national speakers, and staff members.

*The University of Illinois.*

A. H. LYBYER.

*Elva Årtionden ur Finlands Historia.* By BERNHARD ESTLANDER. Volume V., 1917-1918. (Stockholm: Hugo Geber. 1930. Pp. xii, 419. 8.50 crowns.)

WITH the issue of the fifth volume of his *Eleven Decades of the History of Finland*, Dr. Estlander has brought to a conclusion his vivid and scholarly description of the vicissitudes of the Grand Duchy of Finland under the rule of the czars. In the Swedish press his contribution has been characterized as one of the greatest pieces of historical writing in the Swedish language. The fact that a learned Finnish society deemed this last volume worthy of its 10,000 mark prize for 1930 indicates that the work is also held in high esteem in the author's homeland.

Although Dr. Estlander takes a definite point of view, his volumes are by no means a one-sided interpretation of Finland's life under St. Petersburg. He was closely in touch with some of the events of the later period, but has been able to look upon them objectively. Of this impartiality he gives proof at the beginning of volume V., where he outlines Russia's position after the first revolution in relation to the Finnish question. It will be remembered that upon coming into power the provisional government issued a manifesto in which it promised not to violate the internal independence, national culture, and separate language which the Finns had long regarded as their constitutional rights. This manifesto and the representatives of the Russian government were received with open arms in Helsingfors. But in regard to this Estlander writes: "The Cadets upon this occasion played a far more sympathetic rôle than we. They were sincere. We were not. We did not tell them openly what we should have done; that we could not stop at the conditions before Bobrikov; that we could not repeat what we had already gone through; that we must have guarantees, if we could not get separation. Our lack of sincerity at this time was an error which may yet in the future be a disturbing element in our relations with Russia."

In the same manner he deals with the fundamental question of the relation of the "reds" to the government in Finland. "For the red revolt there was no basis of oppression or divergence of interests which could not have been eliminated or softened by the normal channels



provided by the community. Its fundamental cause was the disappearance of the Russian governmental fabric and the prevention by the social democrats of a substitution from taking its place." The workers were urged to consider the state as a *bourgeois* party organization; the forces for defense were termed "butchers". No battle cry contributed more to the advent of the revolt. The fight between the whites and the reds thus became inevitable and from its very nature it was a battle between the lawful forces of the state and an armed revolt leaning on Russia for support. In this struggle no compromise was possible; it had to be fought to the end. Fortunately the Finnish body politic showed that it contained sufficient sound vitality to push through to a victorious end.

The story of this battle forms the content of the last volume. Its sources are not only the wide literature of the period but extensive personal contact with the leaders that figured. For the military aspects Estlander has obtained much information from General Mannerheim and the members of the staff; for the political data he has collaborated with Svinhufvud and other leaders. It should be added that the author did not belong to the circles oriented toward Germany. He was not one of those who wanted to make Finland a vassal state under the ægis of the Hohenzollerns. For that reason he defends the program of Mannerheim who without doubt appears as the central and most powerful personality of this disturbed year.

Estlander's relation of the part that Sweden played or failed to play in Finland's fight for independence is not so bitter as it might be. However, the space he devotes to this is a heavy indictment against the Swedish government, and until the Stockholm archives are opened no one can give a different picture of the Finnish policy of Professor Edén and his colleagues.

*Uppsala, Sweden.*

ERIC CYRIL BELLQUIST.

*My Life.* By LEON TROTSKY. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1930. Pp. xi, 583. \$5.00.)

Most of Trotsky's other writings have been brilliant, thin, and theoretical. In contrast with them, this autobiography is his most substantial and careful book. It is one of the important documents of the new Russia.

The second half of the book reports Trotsky's work in Russia from 1917. The whole story is chronological in the main and the translation seems very good. Unlike Kerensky and Sazonov, Trotsky does not give us vague or inaccurate reminiscences of events long past. His book, like the *Memoirs* of Witte, is frequently supported by documents and his memory is not only unusually definite but it agrees with contemporary and scholarly accounts such as those of Philips Price, Jacques Sadoul, Michael Farbman, and Arthur Ransome. It is true that Trotsky's statements are frequently more vigorous than complete; he often brightens things with flashes of lightning instead of daylight. There are many

adventures. But the author etches situations and personalities with a keen edge and subtle implication.

The unique quality of the book is the effective expression of socialistic philosophy, the intellectual-moral idealism of the author, the persistent Marxian view of everything, and the genuine effort to carry those views into life and action. Trotsky (if one can judge by his own story) met his situations with resolution and wit. At nineteen, alone for weeks without book or pencil in a Kherson cell which was intolerably cold and verminous, he paced the floor diagonally, and doggedly composed revolutionary songs. He faced the political crises of 1905, 1914, and 1917-1918 with the same spirit plus the insight and the rapid translation of principles into action which marked his political career, so brilliant until the rise of Stalin. To a *bourgeois* Milton, Trotsky would seem the ideal Satan. He is not reported to have said "Toujours de l'audace!" but he lived Danton's phrase with natural *élan*.

Trotsky's autobiography throws some new light on the Bolshevik movement: it was Trotsky, behind Khrustaliev, who directed the strategy of the 1905 soviet so well that Lenin admitted: "Well, Trotsky has won this [leadership] by his tireless and striking work." The author devotes chapter XXXVII. to the discussion of four points of disputed military strategy: the pursuit of Kolchak, the attack on the Cossacks supporting Denikin, Trotsky's defense of Petrograd after Zinoviev had persuaded Lenin to abandon it, and Lenin's reckless attack on Poland. The author explains and praises the organizing genius of Sklyansky, whom he is inclined to call the Lazare Carnot of the Russian Revolution. He shows himself and Lenin enjoying a David-and-Jonathan friendship in tribulation, but this may be a little exaggerated to throw a deeper shadow over Stalin. The Trotsky-Stalin antagonism itself is shown to date as far back as the military disagreements late in 1918.

Trotsky also explains his loss of power. He points out the signs of a new period of Bolshevism in 1922. It was then, during the first year after the desperate fight against invaders and famine, that Lenin's first stroke almost removed him from the government; and this fact, together with a fall and an illness of his own, gravely affected Trotsky. These things fatally weakened the two great idealists of Bolshevism. At the same time, there was a marked change in the mood of the party: a "moral relaxation, self-content and triviality", a more frank self-seeking in office, a wave of "philistine gossip", and the return of worldly amusements such as visiting one another, ballet parties, and drinking parties. Thus were the practical bureaucrats of Thermidor able to strengthen themselves steadily between 1922 and Lenin's death early in 1924. In this movement, Stalin is only "the outstanding mediocrity in the party" and represents the "impersonal apparatus on the decline of the revolution". It is now the period of the clever and pushing politician. The author looks steadily for the great forces underlying individual action. More mature opinion will probably give him a high place not only for

his brilliant services to the new Russia but also for his sound judgment of his period.

*The University of Oregon.*

WALTER CARL BARNES.

*Turkey faces West: a Turkish View of Recent Changes and their Origin.* By HALIDÉ EDIB, formerly Professor of Western Literature in the University of Istanbul. With a Preface by Edward Mead Earle, Associate Professor of History in Barnard College and Columbia University. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1930. Pp. xiv, 273. \$3.00.)

THIS is a book of analysis and interpretation. It is not an apologia for the Turkish government, nor a defense of its policies. Nor could one call it a criticism of the present régime. There are expressions of opinion, to be sure, as well as subjective factors inevitable in an interpretation. But the final impression it leaves is of semidetached examination in an attempt to place the moving spirit of Turkey in its proper niche, and to view the events of 1918-1928 in their proper historical perspective.

Madame Halidé Edib discerns two types of Turks which emerged from the "boiling pot of Near Eastern religion and culture"—the imperialist Ottoman and the Turk. The former typifies the ruling class which reared the empire, assimilated much of the civilization of the Byzantines (through the Arabs), thereby coming to possess an artificial culture. "But the process was not only slow but to a great degree ineffective as far as the masses were concerned." Hence the Turk.

With this distinction as a starting point Madame Halidé Edib proceeds to a résumé of the decline of the empire, working the "Eastern Question" with the familiar tools of nationalism and European policy. But throughout she interprets the disintegration of the empire in terms of the devitalizing of the imperialist Ottoman. This she does despite the progress in westernization made during the nineteenth century, such as the military and administrative reforms, the supplementing of God-made law (the Sheriat) by man-made law (European codes), and the renaissance in thought. The "dark years" of the reign of Abdul Hamid II. were a blight on the tender plant, but the process of growth was resumed under the leadership of the Committee of Union and Progress. But now the impelling force had all but departed from the imperialist Ottoman (the Young Turk leaders were Macedonian), and the outcome of the war left the Turkish people without effective leadership. Fortunately, the distinctive qualities of the Turk had been preserved in something like their pure state, and, under the stimulus of the example of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, resignation gave way to disillusionment and war-weariness to the desire to live as an independent group.

Madame Halidé Edib's admiration of the Turk is apparent. In her opinion the same qualities which won independence would ultimately have completed the process of westernization. A democratic setting



such as was approximated in Turkey from 1920 to 1925, would have provided the favorable atmosphere. Although it would have been a long process, it would have been a thoroughgoing one and would have left little rancor. As it was, the process was advanced at an abnormal rate by the terrorist methods of a dictatorship dominated by the "staff officer" type of mind. In this she sees the triumph of the "doing" philosophy, so characteristic of the post-war spirit, over the "thinking" necessary for slow growth and implied in the words "liberalism" and "freedom of thought".

Despite a suspicion that the problem has been rationalized in distinguishing so clearly between imperialist Ottoman and Turk, the volume is an extremely valuable addition to the literature on Turkey. The student of modern history and of international relations can hardly afford to miss it. And its value is enhanced by the frank and penetrating preface by Professor E. M. Earle.

*Williams College.*

DONALD C. BLAISDELL.

*An Economic History of Australia.* By EDWARD SHANN, Professor of History and Economics, University of Western Australia. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. xiv, 456. \$6.00.)

PROFESSOR SHANN'S book on the economic history of Australia is, in many respects, most timely. With business conditions depressed as they are the world over, any publication which may possibly account for the existing situation, is in demand. If enlightenment be sought, however, on the actual conditions in Australia, the book under review will be disappointing, since it is strictly historical in scope with only a bare eighty-two of its 447 pages devoted to the period of the Commonwealth. To anything post-dating the World War it gives only meager and incidental reference.

Yet it is not without its bearing on current affairs. Chapter XV. elucidates the protectionist tariff policy which has become as completely characteristic of Australia as of the United States. Although manifestly out of sympathy with it, the author traces it, in a just and telling way, from the time it was first sponsored in Victoria by David Syme to its final adoption by the federal parliament. In succeeding chapters he has treated with equal interest and thoroughness problems of practical politics, such as inland transport, land, and labor. Scattered here and there are his findings and opinions on public finance and the reader regrets that a subject so vital has been accorded no separate and distinct treatment. Immigration occupies, naturally, large space, inasmuch as, historically, it has had many ramifications. The intensity of feeling engendered, in turn, by the convict, the assisted immigrant, the Oriental, to say nothing of the warning found in the experience of other English speaking countries, has made the gradual development of a "White

Australia" policy altogether logical, and it has prepared the ground for a well-defined labor movement.

Apart from its timeliness, the book before us calls for comment because of its wealth of information, its citation of reputable authorities, its evidences of research, and its general historical merit. Notwithstanding all things said in its favor, however, it has some rather glaring faults. From the literary point of view, its style is lacking in dignity and in clarity of thought and expression. The reader, despite his absorption in an interesting narrative, heavily weighted with valuable detail, wearies of indirect references to the colonial office and resents innuendoes and veiled criticisms which, upon examination, prove to be somewhat pointless, trite, or without occasion.

Aberdeen, Washington.

ANNIE HELOISE ABEL-HENDERSON.

#### BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*John White, the Patriarch of Dorchester [Dorset] and the Founder of Massachusetts, 1575-1648, with an Account of the Early Settlements in Massachusetts, 1620-1630.* By FRANCES ROSE-TROUP, Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1930. Pp. xii, 483. \$4.00.)

AN exhaustive story of the career of an English clergyman in Puritan times promises much. When this man devoted his ability, his property, and his sympathy to colonization in New England from the days of the *Mayflower* to the death of Winthrop he challenges American attention. Mrs. Rose-Troup has based her work on manuscripts and pamphlets of the time of which she writes, tracing the urge for New England to economic unrest and to contending views in church and state in England. The men who came in contact with the Reverend John White, Patriarch of Dorchester in Dorset, were many. England of the pre-Commonwealth period was in part their England and New England was their by-product. Thus the book gives a view of the interrelation of Old and New England with truer proportion and better perspective than we are accustomed to expect. She does not place the cart before the horse.

Mrs. Rose-Troup has the true incentive to good writing of biography—devotion to her hero; but the virtue has its drawbacks. She will seem to some to have overstressed the religious motive back of the Dorchester Company's adventure at Cape Ann in 1623; and when she buttresses this religious thesis on page 164 in a footnote she fails to cite chapter and verse which she invariably gives for assertions of less importance.

The authorship of that effective essay used widely as propaganda, *General Observations for the Plantation of New England*, she attributes to White instead of Winthrop, with persuasive ingenuity and thoroughness. Some scholars, however, may hesitate to be convinced by this

evidence. She is on surer ground in attributing to White the *Humble Request*, although another claimant, the Reverend George Phillips, has been brought forward by Henry Wilder Foote. She is at her best in her researches into the White pedigree, and in her valuable notes on the members of the Dorchester Company, a few of whom had worthy careers in the new colony.

Her account of the organization, working, and results of the Dorchester Company, the New England Company, and the dominant Massachusetts Bay Company is an able narration which carries the reader through the first half of the book. She places great stress on the growth of the Separatist movement, and charges Bradford, Endicott, and Winthrop with tactics which thwarted White's purposes.

The author then traces White's career in the most difficult period of the Puritan movement in England, when he sought a stable compromise between the church of Laud and the tenets of the nonconformist divines. He ended his days at Dorchester on July 21, 1648, beloved by neighbors whom he had aided through his long life of unwearied ministry.

Mrs. Rose-Troup's scholarly volume is hard reading. She does not throw into the foreground the significant events of her period, nor has she the urbane give and take which should make her heroes endurable to those who do not sympathize with them. Nevertheless, she is scrupulously careful to use the language of contemporaries wherever it can be of service in the story. It is to the writers of that time that we must go for important statements. The correct interpretation of these statements may turn upon a single word.

*Boston Athenæum Library.*

C. K. BOLTON.

*Soil: its Influence on the History of the United States.* By ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1930. Pp. 227. \$2.50.)

THE first half dozen chapters deal with physical conditions, of which climates and natural routes have about equal emphasis with soils. The rest of the volume illustrates the principle of soil attraction in the migrations of the pioneers. One who has Mr. Hulbert's wide knowledge of these movements could not fail of interest, but as an exposition, the work is somewhat fragmentary. The references to American geology are too short to be informative and there are some errors. If the geographer who tries to explain history should walk warily, not less is true of the historian who uses earth science. In a volume which has much of interest and is likely to encourage local historical studies, it is to be hoped that a later edition may eliminate some such errors as the following: the Pennsylvania formations about Philadelphia are not, as implied by the author, all Paleozoic; sandstone is not the same as gneiss; glaciation is not a "monstrosity of earthly phenomena" nor a "freakish afterthought of creation"; earth history saw several great ice invasions before the



last one, which was probably no more disorderly than Alexander, Napoleon, or the World War. The ice did not move "southward to a line roughly represented by Mason and Dixon's line", and the ice sheet did not reduce Alpine mountains in New England to their present altitudes. The influence of the Appalachians in bending isotherms is understated and these mountains are usually called by the author "Alleghenies". It would be desirable to confine this word to the northern plateau and conform to good physiographic usage in calling the true mountains the Appalachians.

The chapter on the Story of our Soils is too fragmentary to give a picture of what our soil surveys and our leading soil types mean, and the reader, presumably a layman in earth science, is left without the help of maps, which, with but three exceptions, are absent from the entire work. The bare mention of fifteen physical regions in a footnote (p. 12) is more confusing than useful.

There are sketches of diverse migrations, with sporadic references to the farm lands which attracted the settlers. Interest quickens at once when the author writes as an historian. Examples are found in chapter X. and those that follow. Such are the contest of the Scotch Irish and Bay State men in the Londonderry district; the differentiation of Coastal Plain and Piedmont farming in Virginia and the migrations from southeastern Pennsylvania through the limestone valleys of Virginia and Tennessee, and the settlement of the Kentucky Blue Grass region.

The author neglects the Mohawk route westward and thus loses notable examples of alluvial, lacustrine, and prairie soils from New York to Ohio, Michigan, and westward to Iowa. The volume would have gained coherence and strength if it had been all devoted to this and to the author's favorite southern route to the West. The main thesis is sound, that soil is a strong factor in guiding settlement and that many good studies of local history might be based on this principle. The author justly says that the history of most countries could well be rewritten in the light of their geology, topography, soils, and other physical conditions.

*The Library of Congress.*

ALBERT PERRY BRIGHAM.

*Pilgrims of '48: One Man's Part in the Austrian Revolution of 1848 and a Family Migration to America.* By JOSEPHINE GOLDMARK. With a Preface by JOSEF REDLICH, Professor of Comparative Public Law in Harvard University. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1930. Pp. xviii, 311. \$4.00.)

*The History of the German Settlements in Texas, 1831-1861.* By RUDOLPH LEOPOLD BIESELE. (Austin: Von Boeckman-Jones Company. 1930. Pp. viii, 259. \$3.50.)

THE simultaneous appearance of these two books should be a warning against generalizations regarding the causes of emigration, for the one recounts the experiences of some individuals who left Europe be-

cause of the intolerance of princes, and the other deals with a group whose settlement in America was a result of the benevolence of princes.

'Forty-eighters are usually thought of as Germans. Miss Goldmark tells the story of some Austrian refugees: Joseph Goldmark, Adolf Brandeis, and the family of Gottlieb Wehle who left the Fatherland independently but who found their fortunes closely entwined in America. The first part describes the revolutionary events in Vienna in 1848 and 1849 and particularly the adventures of Joseph Goldmark therein. Based largely upon standard monographs and archival documents, with only a few items drawn from family sources, this loosely organized account is disproportionately long for an understanding of what follows. But part II. Americans will read with unusual interest. An unpublished autobiography, personal letters, and reminiscences present a vivid and enlightening picture of life in Indiana, Cincinnati, and New York among immigrants who were not forced to endure the bitter hardships of most settlers and therefore preserved more of the cultural inheritance they brought with them. Many well-known figures pass through the scenes and acquire more personality from the sketches and anecdotes recorded. Carl Schurz, however, was not a member of Cleveland's cabinet (p. 49) and Koerner was not a 'Forty-eighter (p. 173).

Dr. Biesele has shown what ingenuity and persistence can do with a theme which has already had several historians. Not content with using material readily available, he has secured access to private papers, paged through county histories, local newspapers, and obscure yearbooks, corresponded with German archivists and editors, and ransacked the records of land offices. The result is a clear presentation of a movement which involves such confusing matters as Texan and Mexican colonization laws, forfeited land grants, and strong personal and factional feelings. The emphasis placed upon German immigrants other than those sent out by the well-known *Adelsverein* is a necessary corrective. The majority of readers would have welcomed the omission of long lists of pioneers and substitution in their place of more information regarding the social, economic, and political life. But those who interpret the political alignment of the Germans in the Northwest in terms of Teutonic abhorrence of slavery may well study the account of the attitude of the Germans in the Southwest among whom only a few radicals were abolitionists. The reviewer believes that in its origin the *Adelsverein* was only another expression of that commercial instinct for colonization which in the same decade led Antwerp interests to sponsor a colony in Guatemala, Hamburg to plan one on Chatham Island in the South Seas, and Königsberg to send settlers to the swamps of the Mosquito Coast. A more thorough discussion of the motives and financial methods of the Prince of Leiningen and his associates would, perhaps, have thrown light upon some contemporary European political and commercial tendencies of universal significance.

*The University of Illinois.*

MARCUS L. HANSEN.

*Slave-Trading in the Old South.* By FREDERIC BANCROFT. (Baltimore: J. H. Furst Company. 1931. Pp. 415. \$4.00.)

ACCORDING to time-honored tradition, the slave trader of the Old South was a social leper who was not recognized in decent society. This opinion has been upset by Dr. Bancroft, and it is significant that the title of his latest work contains the words "slave-trading" instead of slave traders. Many professional traders are shown actually to have approached the fringe of respectable society. At the other extreme, men who moved in the highest strata of Southern society—yea, even in Charleston—were vitally connected with slave trading. Some of the latter were silent partners and others, actively engaged, listed themselves in business directories as brokers, auctioneers, or commission merchants. Thus it appears that the trader and the planter were not so far apart.

No important aspect of slave trading is omitted from the work under consideration. In addition to excellent descriptions of the great slave marts of Baltimore, Washington, Richmond, and New Orleans, the smaller centers are considered. Besides Franklin and Armfield, the Boltons and the Ryans, small traders, or those who traded occasionally as a side line of another business, appear in the picture. In addition to the long-range interstate trade, local dealings receive attention, and small transactions as well as great are described. The technique of securing stocks of slaves, of transporting them to the best markets, and there disposing of them to greatest advantage is discussed. Separate chapters are devoted to prices, the dividing of families and selling children separately, and to the hiring of slaves. One chapter presents interesting estimates of the extent of the trade, which is shown to have been smaller in the 'thirties and 'forties than has been generally believed. The cherished economic theory of the South that slaves were the safest and most profitable investment is considered in a thought provoking chapter on high prices and the "negro-fever". This describes the unwarranted, almost hysterical, upward sweep of prices in the late 'fifties. While reading these pages the reader wonders what was the connection between the rapidly increasing prices for slaves and the rising tide of secession sentiment, and where this unsound speculation would have ended had the Civil War been delayed:

Frequently, a single statement is enriched and illuminated by light focused on it from various sources, for in addition to standard sources of information, large use was made of newspaper files and of business directories. Also, several journeys were completed through the South and conversations with many persons, ranging from ex-slaves to ex-major generals in the Confederate army, were recorded. Incidentally, the student of historiography will find a number of illustrations of the skillful use of that valuable though hazardous historical source, unwritten recollections of early times. Inasmuch as a large part of this information was gleaned in 1902, it is of peculiar value, for it could not be found to-day. The fact that this work was obviously begun many years ago



helps to explain the maturity of judgment which illuminates without burdening its pages. It surpasses all previous works on domestic slave trading, and no other phase of slavery has been handled with more skill and care.

The publisher's work was well done. There are a number of illustrations, chiefly of slave jails, scenes in the market, and advertisements dealing with the trade.

*The University of Mississippi.*

CHARLES S. SYDNOR.

*Cyrus Hall McCormick: Seed-Time, 1809-1856.* By WILLIAM T. HUTCHINSON, Assistant Professor of History, the University of Chicago. With a Foreword by WILLIAM E. DODD, Professor of History, the University of Chicago. (New York: Century Company. 1930. Pp. x, 493. \$5.00.)

THE writing of history by means of biographies goes on. Professor Hutchinson's work is a marked illustration. While no essential phases of McCormick's life are missing they appear as incidental to the history of the reaper. Much more than half of the volume is concerned with the problems which the inventors met, rivalries, field and court battles, and the slow evolution of practical machines. Noteworthy early chapters deal with the economic and social conditions in the Valley of Virginia; later ones, especially after the Chicago days began, trace the development of methods of production, advertising, and marketing. McCormick's financial rewards came to him as a manufacturer rather than as an inventor. It is the familiar story in American industrial history, none the less worth telling again, of an early life of harsh experiences ripening into that of a daring, resourceful, aggressive, and hard business man, neither asking nor giving quarter.

Dr. Hutchinson has had access to the invaluable materials in the McCormick Library in Chicago, "a veritable storehouse of American economic history". He promises to continue in a second volume with the later life of McCormick. As a result of making his study exhaustive he will generally exhaust the patience of his readers who will not be interested in lawsuits and minute details of mechanical construction. Perhaps such thoroughness is not compatible with a charming literary style, but a critic can not escape the conclusion that better results might have been achieved with better organization, avoiding needless repetitions, and some of the maze of details in court controversies and field contests.

For the most part, the relations between Senator Stephen A. Douglas and McCormick are left to a foreword by Professor Dodd. Presumably the subject will be more fully considered in the next volume, as it becomes more significant with the approach of the election of 1860. McCormick moved to Chicago in 1848 with a testimonial of good character from Douglas. Both had an interest in the New West, McCormick as a field for the reaper, Douglas in the spread of railroads from Chicago. They held in common a desire to unite the Northwest and the South

economically and politically, and saw hope in the Democratic party as the agent. Fate ordained otherwise and used the reaper and the railroads to its ends. All this is clear in outline in volume I. Dr. Hutchinson, speaking of the year 1850, says, "the specter of slavery had again been laid". One may be permitted to raise a doubt as to whether the elder statesmen had really been so successful as this implies or as they wanted the times to believe.

*Western Reserve University.*

ELBERT J. BENTON.

*Europe and the American Civil War.* By DONALDSON JORDAN, PH.D., and EDWIN J. PRATT, D.PHIL. With an Introduction by SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1931. Pp. xiii, 300. \$4.00.)

AMONGST the interesting features of this book, one of the most interesting is its genesis. Many books have originated in doctoral dissertations: few dissertations develop into such worth-while books. Fortunately, these two theses, submitted to different universities, were read by Professor Morison. Perceiving their individual merits and the inherent unity, he suggested that the authors rewrite their dissertations, in collaboration, for publication as one work. In this revision, most of the "scholarly apparatus and impedimenta" were omitted—there are but a dozen footnotes in the entire book, and only two of these are citations of authorities. There is, however, a very complete bibliography and an adequate index. In fostering this publication Professor Morrison has again done a positive service to historical scholarship. In the introduction, he vouches for the scholarly accuracy of the work, and his guarantee is verified on almost every page.

Naturally, English opinion demands the greatest space. Out of twelve chapters, the first seven, written by Dr. Jordan, deal entirely with Britain. Dr. Pratt found four chapters sufficient for the Continent. Both authors collaborated in the concluding chapter. In assembling their data, the authors were not content with newspapers as organs of public opinion, nor even with weekly, monthly, and quarterly reviews. Parliamentary debates, diaries, memoirs, diplomatic and personal correspondence were ransacked for light upon the subject. Not only does the reader meet the names of prominent journalists and politicians, such as Russell and Gasparin, Gladstone and Casimir-Périer, but such *savants* and *literati* as Darwin, Mill, Montalembert, Carlyle, Lyell, Tocqueville, Bagehot, Victor Hugo.

In part I. Dr. Jordan shows that on the whole, the majority in England favored the North. He reveals clearly what a detriment slavery was to the Confederate bid for English favor. The British reaction to such events as the outbreak of the war, the Trent affair, emancipation, Confederate propaganda, are clearly, interestingly, and convincingly set forth. He shows, as Professor Morison says, that "Lords Palmerston and Russell dared not flout the English nonconformist conscience". No party.

no social class was a unit in its sympathy for North or South. Certain groups, such as antislavery societies and the Quakers, were. Amongst the popular fallacies which he exposes is the belief that the English laboring classes suffered terribly for the lack of Southern cotton. Suffer they did, but not to the extent heretofore believed.

Dr. Pratt's initial chapter summarizes the trend of opinion in most of the Continental countries, from little Switzerland to vast Russia, from Catholic Belgium to Moslem Turkey. One chapter is devoted to Napoleon III. and his economic and political "friendship" for the South, another to French opinion other than the emperor's, and one to Spanish opinion.

The entire book reveals how important the struggle was to Europe, practically and idealistically. In their concluding chapter the authors demonstrate that not merely the victory of the North, but the triumph of "American national integrity was an important event for Europe". This proof that democracy was not a failure, as some political theorists had been insisting for four years, gave a decided impetus to liberalism in Europe.

*Hamilton College.*

MILLEDGE L. BONHAM, JR.

*The Age of Hate: Andrew Johnson and the Radicals.* By GEORGE FORT MILTON. (New York: Coward-McCann Company. 1930. Pp. xi, 787. \$5.00.)

THE author vividly portrays the struggle between President and radical Congressmen over Reconstruction, beginning under Lincoln and ending only with Grant's inauguration. While the book is not a biography of Andrew Johnson, he is its central figure and hero. An experienced journalist's skill brings scores of Johnson's enemies and protagonists to life again to reenact the exciting scenes of the 'sixties. But Mr. Milton does not sacrifice accuracy to dramatics. His most exciting scenes are thoroughly documented. He joins other recent revisionists in portraying Johnson as an honest, intelligent, thoroughly good President, whose sound, constructive program of Reconstruction was overwhelmed by a campaign of abuse, calumny, and hate that few Presidents would have withstood. Five years ago Milton's book would have been epoch making. It still adds to other recent contributions a mass of evidence in Johnson's behalf. Milton's analysis of the man is excellent. And he has not let his admiration for that President's good qualities blind him to weaknesses that contributed to radical success. Nor has he allowed indignation over injustice done Johnson to provoke him into flights of denunciation of Johnson's enemies. Some of them are left without a shred of respectability, but it is their own actions and not Milton's invective that destroys reputations. The author betrays even a certain admiration for Stevens's forcefulness. Sumner alone seems to suffer from lack of understanding.

A few defects should be noted. Occasionally an important reference is omitted. Careful checking would have eliminated many needless



inaccuracies. In a few cases failure to compare the printed and manuscript versions of Welles's diary has led the author to give as Welles's contemporary opinion a more spicy comment inserted in view of later events when Welles revised his diary: for example, the characterization of Grant on page 477. Though usually discriminating in using evidence, Milton too often accepts Welles's judgments without weighing his prejudices (for instance, in regard to Seward) and quotes as authority letters written to Johnson from obscure persons in matters where the character of the unknown correspondent would seriously affect the dependability of his testimony. These are minor faults. The great defect of the book is that, following Carlyle's "great man" theory of history and interested more in narration of events than in underlying causes that determined them, Milton has failed to reveal the motives behind the hatreds of the day, or to discover the great historic forces at work beneath the battling of politicians, forces which have made modern America and are still at work long after Johnson's rather inconsequential contemporaries are forgotten. Mrs. Surratt's trial is given 22 pages, Johnson's impeachment, 152. Both are superbly drawn. But in contrast, the tariff, cheap money, big business, receive only two passing comments of a few lines each, important though they were in this very quarrel between Johnson and the radicals.

Despite this major defect, as political narrative the book is excellent. The point of view is sound; the tone is judicious. The author combines enthusiasm with unusual impartiality. Pertinent source collections have been used thoroughly. The author tirelessly hunted out scattered letters, interviewed survivors. His industry and curiosity are evidenced by the list of books that Johnson read, compiled by painstaking searching of old Library of Congress records for books charged to him. The hitherto unpublished account of the Johnson-Sumner interview of December, 1865, is most illuminating. The author's curiosity led to the transcription of Moore's shorthand diary which proved a mine of new material. Milton's work is as thorough as Winston's and more readable. He writes as interestingly as Bowers or Stryker but is free from their prejudices and used masses of material that neither of them touched.

Washington, D. C.

HOWARD K. BEALE.

*Indians and Pioneers: the Story of the American Southwest before 1830.* By GRANT FOREMAN. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1930. Pp. xvi, 348. \$4.00.)

IN the first half of the nineteenth century, before the annexation of Texas and the acquisition of the territories ceded by Mexico at the end of the Mexican War, the "Southwest" meant the southwestern portion of the Louisiana Purchase. This book is a history of that early Southwest—the territory which is now southern Missouri, southern Kansas, Arkansas, and eastern Oklahoma—from the earliest explorations to the year 1830. Most of the volume is devoted to an account of the struggles

among the various Indian tribes of the region, and between the Indians and the white pioneers, for possession of that part of the territory which later became the state of Arkansas.

Arkansas Post was established in 1686, but white settlement in Arkansas proceeded slowly. It was not until the era of the steamboat that Arkansas became easily accessible. Then too, the warlike character of the Osage and other tribes of the region for many years made settlement beyond the shadow of the forts an extremely hazardous undertaking. Nevertheless, the development of Arkansas would probably have followed closely that of Missouri and Kansas, had not the Federal government decided to set aside the western part of the territory for the establishment of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Cherokee, Creeks, and Seminoles. The transfer of the eastern tribes was carried out during the period covered by this volume. It resulted in a prolonged triangular conflict between the Plains Indians, the Five Civilized Tribes, and the white settlers, and was finally settled by the Federal government. Arkansas territory was split in two in 1828, by the line which now forms the western boundary of the state. The eastern half was opened to white settlement; the Five Civilized Tribes were settled in what is now eastern Oklahoma, and the Plains Indians were driven farther to the west.

The story of this conflict should make interesting reading; but it does not. Mr. Foreman makes use of all the apparatus of historical scholarship. The extensive annotation and the thirteen pages of bibliography give evidence of an intensive and exhaustive examination of the source material; but the book is deficient in selection and emphasis, and the unlimited wealth of detail, together with the excessive use of proper names—there are 649 in 314 pages of text, and some of them occur as many as 208 times—makes some portions of it almost unreadable. The general reader in quest of an illuminating interpretative narrative of the struggle between the Indians and pioneers in the Old Southwest will not find it here; but the future historian of the region will find the book a useful guide to a hitherto neglected phase of American history.

Washington, D. C.

JOSEPH C. GREEN.

*Anza's California Expeditions.* By HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON, Professor of American History and Director of the Bancroft Library, University of California. Five volumes. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1930. Pp. xxi, 529; xv, 473; xxi, 436; xiii, 552; xviii, 426. \$25.00.)

IN these five volumes Professor Bolton does two things. He tells adequately the story of the two expeditions of Juan Bautista de Anza which led to the founding of San Francisco in 1776, and he presents the original documents, hitherto almost wholly unprinted, on which the story is based. The account and the documents are of importance not merely because of their relation to the beginnings of a great city but also because they describe a significant achievement in Spanish colonial history—the

discovery and utilization of a route from the province of Sonora across the deserts to the Pacific Coast of Upper California, thus making possible the development of that region without the dangers and inconveniences of travel by way of the peninsula of Lower California or the Pacific Ocean. In his first expedition, in 1774, Anza established friendly relations with the Yuma Indians at the Colorado River crossing and then, not without great difficulty, found a way through to the Coast. In his second expedition in 1775-1776, he conducted over this route a colony of 240 persons—men, women, and children—to make a settlement on the bay of San Francisco.

The volumes are the fruit of long years of investigation. Anza is described as the "hard riding captain" but the equally hard riding historian has trailed him not only through widely scattered archives in search of manuscript records, but also literally and physically through cañon and desert over the long trail from Mexico to San Francisco. With the enthusiasm generated by this double quest, Professor Bolton has given in volume I. a most vigorous and graphic account of Anza's expeditions. He begins with a brief but excellent appraisal of Spanish colonization in America and the significance of the northern borderlands, then proceeds to a well organized narrative, skillfully woven from the material in the documents. Anza and his associates—particularly Fathers Garcés and Font—stand out with distinct and very human characteristics, and the dovetailing of their deeds into the activities of Rivera and Serra and Palóu on the Coast is effectively shown. Based on solid scholarship, the book will also be eagerly read by the layman. Republication in a separate form would give it a wider distribution.

The remaining four volumes of the series are of great importance to the student of Western history. The second contains the documents relating to the first expedition—three diaries by Anza himself, two by Father Díaz, two by Father Garcés, a "brief account" in the form of a letter from Garcés to the viceroy, Bucareli, and Father Palóu's diary of the exploration of San Francisco Bay in the period between the two expeditions of Anza.

Volume III. presents documents bearing on the second expedition. Anza contributes one of these, Father Font another, and Father Eixarch, who remained at the Yuma village, a third. To these are added accounts of the founding of San Francisco, written by Father Palóu and Lieutenant Moraga, Anza's second in command who remained in charge of the colonists when Anza returned to Mexico. Two of these have been printed before—Font's Short Diary by F. J. Teggart in the *Academy of Pacific Coast Publications*, and Palóu's narrative by Bolton in his *Noticias de la Nueva California*. Volume III. also contains, in the preface, Professor Bolton's account of his own retracing of Anza's trail.

The fourth volume consists of the most imposing single document of the collection—the Complete Diary of Father Font, for the second expedition. He was a close observer and a man of great frankness. His entries, more detailed and gossipy than those of Anza, give a wealth of



information on the trail, the Indians, and the personnel of the expedition. The last volume embodies the correspondence relative to the expeditions, presenting wholly unpublished material from the archives and other repositories of Spain, Mexico, and California.

Ten excellent maps give assistance to the reader of the first volume, the fourth volume contains maps by Father Font, and all of the volumes are abundantly illustrated. The diaries are given in the translation of the editor and are amply documented. The careful scholarship evident in the preparation and presentation of the material leaves the reviewer nothing to cavil at. The richness of the material, and the fact that so little has hitherto been printed, make it clearly the most important in the long list of Professor Bolton's scholarly contributions.

*The University of California at Los Angeles.* JOHN C. PARISH.

*Up and Down California in 1860-1864: the Journal of William H. Brewer, Professor of Agriculture in the Sheffield Scientific School from 1864 to 1903.* Edited by FRANCIS P. FARQUHAR, Editor of the *Sierra Club Bulletin*, California. With a Preface by RUSSELL H. CHITTENDEN, Director of the Sheffield Scientific School, 1898-1922. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1930. Pp. xxx, 601. \$6.00.)

SEVENTY years ago California's mineral wealth lay very much in the realm of the unknown despite the great gold rush of the late 'forties and a decade of intermittent revivals of the old gambling spirit of the mines. Not gold alone, but quicksilver, tin, silver, and even coal, seemed now and again to promise quick wealth, and search for them led to a vast amount of speculation, waste of effort, and loss of money. It was evident that proper development would be favored by a faithful inventory of the state's mineral resources.

Prime mover in this design was Justice Stephen J. Field; upon his initiative Josiah Dwight Whitney was on April 2, 1860, made state geologist. His chief assistant and head of the field work of the geological survey from 1860 to 1864 was William H. Brewer, whose letters, written to his Eastern friends while he was in California, form the detailed and intimate narrative of that pioneer undertaking. Its official findings have been published in numerous volumes, chiefly in the reports of the state geologist.

Unfortunately, the purpose contemplated by Field and Whitney was never completely realized, largely because the latter was unable to bend his course to suit political exigencies and show early practical results. Whitney's maps are now thought to be the most valuable part of the work, which continued intermittently some years after Brewer went to Yale. But no new mineral fields were discovered, nor was guidance given directly to mining. Yet there were imponderable results in dissemination of information, with intangible effect on later development.

The values of the present volume are several. It gives intimate

glimpses of the leaders of the work, and of such men as Clarence King, Charles F. Hoffman, and James T. Gardiner, who, especially Hoffman, were responsible through their apprenticeship on the California project for the beginnings of the system developed in the United States Topographical Survey. One literary piece, King's *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada*, and biographies of King and of Whitney are the principal other nontechnical writings evolved from the survey.

Brewer's letters portray California at a most interesting period. The mixture of American and Mexican society, the primitive agriculture on an extensive scale, the problems of travel, transportation, markets, and crops are noticed with a critical, observing eye. The troubles of a New Englander in managing his field force ring familiarly to anyone who knows the type of itinerant worker, scientific or not. Brewer's love of California's out-of-doors, his appreciation of the mountains, his ennui at the vast extent of valleys where many a bungalow-land now extends over the flat, stale reaches of his journeys, give the old Californian something of a nostalgia for the earlier days.

The editing has been carefully and judiciously done by one who, as president of the Sierra Club, has no doubt seen as much of the California mountains as Brewer himself. Illuminating notes have been added concerning outstanding characters and places. Of necessity these could not be exhaustive. There is a map, by which the itinerary of the field party can be traced; the illustrations are happily reproduced from old and rather unusual prints, lithographs, sketches, and drawings contemporary with the letters.

*The University of California.*

HERBERT I. PRIESTLEY.

*Commonwealth History of Massachusetts.* Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, LITT.D., LL.D., Professor Emeritus of Government, Harvard University. In five volumes. Volume V., *Twentieth Century Massachusetts, 1889-1930*. (New York: States History Company. 1930. Pp. xx, 808. \$9.50.)

THIS final volume of the *Commonwealth History* has presented a difficult problem of selection and organization because the forty-one years covered (1889-1830) have been so complex in human activities. The twenty-two chapters, with the exception of two by Albert Bushnell Hart, have all been written by different collaborators. Eight chapters deal with political institutions such as the General Court, Problems of State Government, the Municipality of Boston, the Bench and Bar, Political Readjustments, Public Finance, the Militia, and the Fourth Constitutional Convention. Four chapters relate to cultural institutions—Education and Science, Libraries, Charles W. Eliot, Educator, and the Press and Publications. Economic history is treated in three chapters on Manufactures, Transportation, and Labor. Religion is confined to two chapters—Religious Forces, and the Catholic Church. And there are separate chapters on Massachusetts in the West, the Woman Move-

ment, Medicine, Massachusetts in the World War, and the Tercentenary. Appendixes give the names of state officers and Massachusetts men in Federal service from 1890 to 1930. An excellent index for the five volumes covers 115 pages.

For a coöperative history there is a remarkable uniformity of style and treatment in this volume, due, no doubt, to the careful preliminary outlining and editing of the various contributions. Dr. Hart has demonstrated that under expert direction the history of a state may be worked out by associated effort. If the history of our older states is to be written fully with the inclusion of all the institutional developments—social, economic, cultural, religious, and political—it will have to be done by a group of experts working together in conformity to some well digested plan and under competent supervision. The New York State Historical Association is now arranging to produce a history of the Empire state patterned somewhat after that of the *Commonwealth History of Massachusetts*. No doubt other states will follow the example.

This final volume of the *Commonwealth History of Massachusetts* dispels the popular delusion that everything that has happened in Massachusetts during the three centuries is referable to the beginnings. A good many "firsts" appear in this last period, such as, the first foreign-born state governor, the first Catholic governor, the first Massachusetts woman in Congress, and the first woman to preside over the lower house of the state legislature. In addition, there are innumerable innovations in government, in education, in science, in industry, and in medicine, which reveal a commonwealth so different to-day that the Puritan founders would scarcely recognize it. Without doubt this interpretation of the recent changes and developments is the most creative portion of the whole work. Dr. Albert Bushnell Hart's chapter on Charles William Eliot, and Mrs. Frederick P. Bagley's chapter on the Woman Movement deserve special commendation.

*The Archives of New York, Albany.*

A. C. FLICK.

*Henry White: Thirty Years of American Diplomacy.* By ALLAN NEVINS. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1930. Pp. xii, 518. \$5.00.)

HENRY WHITE, the subject of this biography, proved himself a useful diplomat over years remarkable for a badly organized diplomatic service subject to the whims of politicians and men of political influence. Had our diplomatic organization approached the British system in method and efficiency, it might have been possible for a man of White's caliber, eager to serve his country, to leave a more notable record of accomplishment. Mr. Nevins tells the story of his life skillfully and at length—perhaps at greater length than the significance of the life warrants. Henry White was not a great character. Even with deference to the eulogies of friends frequently cited in the course of the narrative, a discerning reader may fairly conclude that he was not a diplomat of



outstanding distinction. The story has been told largely from abundant personal records and correspondence. Comparatively slight attention has been given to official dispatches and instructions in the Department of State. The biographer reveals his skill chiefly in the personal portrait rather than in the political and diplomatic settings in which for many years White found himself. The portrait reminds one of a picture by De Laszlo: it is done with telling strokes, but it lacks depth of interpretation. On the other hand, students of our recent diplomacy should not overlook valuable extracts gathered from the Hay-White correspondence, or those portions of the Lodge-White letters at a later period pertaining to the struggle in the Senate over the Treaty of Versailles.

White's talent was largely social: he loved good society which welcomed him; in it he was usually associated with men officially or otherwise his superiors occupying places of influence and power. The "trivial vulgarity of diplomatic society"—so objectionable to his British contemporary, Sir Arthur Nicolson—with which he must have been familiar, seems never to have disturbed him; at any rate that aspect of diplomatic life, if ever in reflective moments it occurred to him, remains unrevealed in Mr. Nevins's narrative. Interested, as he was, in an improved and well organized diplomatic service for which at times he labored, he was sufficiently satisfied with his various positions and accepted his duties gladly even though he waited many years before attaining a high place. In the matter of promotion he could afford to be an opportunist. His undercover work at Algeciras, well understood since 1920 when the secret correspondence relating to American features in the situation was first published, will remain greatly to his credit. The recent biography of Sir Arthur Nicolson by his son, Harold Nicolson, throws light on the British attitude (*Portrait of a Diplomatist*, pp. 125-146), but in nowise detracts from White's ability in helping to keep France and Germany at peace for the following eight years. Almost a third of the volume is devoted to the story of White's presence in Paris as commissioner during a fateful year. In an otherwise fairly balanced book so much space seems disproportionate. However, in view of the complications of the conference and its aftermath, the author is remarkably successful in keeping White's figure in the foreground. The principal revelations concern White's effort to keep Senator Lodge informed of President Wilson's work and the story of White's gradual acceptance, with qualifications, of the project for a League of Nations. The effort had little influence over Lodge. As a whole, the volume leaves the impression that there is still an opportunity for some one to make a careful study of Henry White's work in diplomacy.

*Washington, D. C.*

HENRY BARRETT LEARNED.

*The American Leviathan: the Republic in the Machine Age.* By CHARLES A. BEARD, sometime President of the American Political Science Association, and WILLIAM BEARD, B.S., Massachusetts Institute of Technology. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. xv, 824. \$5.00.)

IN the interpretation of the American governmental system this volume sets a new landmark. Its point of view is that government should be looked upon as "a cultural complex, not a machine". To this end the authors have welded politics, administration, economics, and technology into a unified presentation which is self-evidently stimulating and highly informative. Most books have portrayed the Federal government of the United States as a designed mechanism which derives its motive power from the national Constitution and functions in accordance with certain laws of political dynamics. This volume explains it as an immeasurably intricate affair in which traditions, interests, loyalties, apparatus, and institutions are pulling each other to and fro unceasingly. Much of this interplay goes on beneath the surface, unmentioned in books of political science and unobserved by the great masses of our citizenship.

It is a commonplace that science and machinery have wrought a revolution in the United States during the past ten decades and have set the nation face to face with new facts, new needs, new problems. But it is not yet a commonplace that this revolution has completely transformed our political processes. By retaining the old framework of government we have masked the immensity of this change. Yet it is prefigured, plain as day, in the nation's chief executive. Herbert Hoover engineer, economist, and apostle of efficiency incarnates the era of 1931 quite as faithfully as did Andrew Jackson, warrior, planter, and spoilsman in the cruder days of 1831. As a mechanism the Federal government has not greatly changed during these hundred years, but "as a cultural complex" it is a wholly different affair. Accordingly, most of our political treatises still use the old vernacular and dilate at length upon state rights, due process, *laissez faire*, and the equal protection of the laws, while the newspaper headlines are chronicling countless instances of Federal intervention, administrative adjudication, governmental regulation, and the unequal protection of the racketeer.

This new and successful partnership of Messrs. Beard and Son has rendered a fine service in sharply calling attention to the discrepancy between the facts and the phrases of American government. In their analysis of government as a going concern they have shown beyond peradventure that it can no longer be carried on by the simple application of historic formulas. It demands a high degree of technical competence in all its branches without exception. That is the lesson which stands forth on every page, and it is driven into the reader's mind by a wealth of concrete illustrations. The book is timely, original, accurate, and thought provoking, which is indeed a rare combination of qualities.

*California Institute of Technology.*

WILLIAM B. MUNRO.

*Porto Rico and its Problems.* By VICTOR S. CLARK and ASSOCIATES. (Washington: Brookings Institution. 1930. Pp. xxxv, 707. \$5.00.)

DR. CLARK and his associates have given us most opportunely a thoroughly competent survey of the problems of our Caribbean dependency. These problems are approached from numerous angles by experts in their fields. The demography, the economics, the finances, the social organization, and the political structure, in the island itself and in relation to the United States, are adequately treated. And the materials have been brought together in a masterly way to give the student an accurate and convincing picture of the present status of the Porto Ricans.

At the outset the fundamental problem of Porto Rico insists upon making itself known. The pressure of population in the limited area of the island underlies every other factor, the poverty, the ill-health, the disaffection which manifests itself in various ways, and the related matters of government and taxation.

It is useful to have an authoritative statement of the fact that these difficulties had their origin in Spanish times and that the island was headed toward its present troubles long before and quite independently of the American occupation. "Writing in 1887 a distinguished local physician declared that the nourishment which the great majority of the country people received was so scanty that it scarcely sufficed to replace organic waste, and not infrequently provisions were of such bad quality that their use should have been prohibited." What follows is not wholly encouraging. Deploring the lack of data which would justify an accurate comparison, the survey finds that conditions have improved since America took charge. But this improvement appears to have come to a standstill after the war and recently there has been some retrogression.

The population curve furnishes the explanation. Modern sanitation and modern methods of treating disease have lowered the death rate while the birth rate continues to rise. The net increase has grown from 2.60 per thousand in 1900-1904 to 18.12 per thousand in 1925-1928.

So long as the population to be supported increases more rapidly than the means of subsistence, there can, of course, be no permanent improvement of Porto Rican living conditions. The enduring economic problem in Porto Rico, as elsewhere, is to determine and secure the best balance between resources and productive equipment on the one hand and the population to be supported on the other. In Porto Rico the best balance does not now exist, for population has outrun the capacity of the present economic resources and organization to furnish full employment and satisfactory living conditions.

The one noticeable lack in the work is the absence of any examination of the influence of the Church and other forces on the population problem. Every other aspect of Porto Rico appears to have been covered and the pointed statement of recommendations growing out of the survey



should be of the greatest assistance in bettering conditions as much as fundamental factors will allow.

Ossining, New York.

HENRY KITTREDGE NORTON.

*Religious Aspects of the Conquest of Mexico.* By CHARLES S. BRADEN, Northwestern University. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1930. Pp. xv, 344. \$3.50.)

THE even detachment of this study is perhaps its outstanding trait, though it is marked also by close adherence to sixteenth century sources for the main portion of the work. The subject is a superb one, worthy of bolder judgments of results, and meriting somewhat wider use of authorities. For instance, Solórzano's *Política Indiana* has much to say of New Spain's religion in its formative process, and Thomas Gage, renegade Jesuit, some crisp characterizations, but both are absent from the bibliography.

Dr. Braden relies mainly on Mendieta and Clavigero for his judgment of the faith brought to America by the conquerors. It was the formalism of his religion that made Cortes its chief protagonist, humble with all his astuteness, yet without capacity to transmute faith and humility into morality or spirituality. The speed with which the Aztec accepted superficially the new way of life is explained by the background common to the two religions in analogous tribal wanderings, and in the coming and return of Quetzalcoatl as if in imitation of the advents of Christ, while similarity in ritual, feasts, and fasts all tended to simplify formal acceptance of the new faith.

The author finds spirituality and genuineness in the early Church fathers, but the later ones were little better than second-rate; he gives scant attention to the frontier scamps who slipped into the organization under the disguise of the cloth, but on the other hand barely touches on the wide spread of the missions in the rapid expansion of his century. Then, too, the evaluation of religion as a force in transmission of culture might have been strengthened by including the impact of other concomitant influences. The rapid disappearance of the nobility, the shift in the land policy, the imposition of a new governmental machine, all had a share in disrupting the life of the indigenes, while the work of the Church outside pure inculcation of the faith had tremendous part in affecting the social situation.

When we turn to the interpretation of religion as a modern social force in Mexico the book seems to lack sharp and vivid appreciation of the problem involved. Believers in revealed religion, of course, look upon the fact that rural Mexico clings to paganism under a thin veneer of ritual as proof of depravity; but if we accept religion as an outgrowth of human experience, that continuity of the old mixed with the new is a testimonial to the adaptability of Christianity to its *milieu*, and to the tenacity and vitality of aboriginal spirit. A civilization which still preserves its pagan Christmas and Easter ought not to be disturbed because certain Mexican

Indians hide Tlaloc behind the statue of the Virgin, dancing before both at the same time, shrewd precaution mingled with their reverence and devotion.

*The University of California.*

HERBERT I. PRIESTLEY.

*The Life of Miranda.* By WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON, PH.D., Professor of History, University of Illinois. Two volumes. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1929. Pp. xviii, 327; x, 306. \$10.00.)

THERE is much in the life of Francisco de Miranda which a popular biographer might make into a best seller, but in doing so a vast deal of important information would have to be slighted and the historical significance of the man would be neglected. Professor Robertson's two volume work is not a popular biography, and for that reason is the more valuable. Nevertheless the story is clear, well written, and intensely interesting. While the author mentions the picturesque and *risqué* incidents he does not play them up to suit the popular taste but devotes more time to matters of real historical significance.

This *Life of Miranda* is without doubt definitive. Nothing in English on this subject has ever been done to equal it, and the possibility of equaling it in future seems slight, for there is not a phase of Miranda's life or of his relations with others which the author has not searched to the very bottom. This book will confirm Professor Robertson's already high reputation as "the biographer of Miranda". In spite of his earlier work, *Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America*, the author has apparently never lost interest in his subject and has not been satisfied until, after an arduous quest extending over many years, he unearthed in the office of Lord Bathurst's estate at Cirencester, England, the long lost manuscripts which, shortly before his incarceration, Miranda succeeded in having smuggled out of Venezuela. After Professor Robertson, with his keen scent for historic significance, had carefully gone through these manuscripts, they were—sixty-three volumes of them—deposited in the archives of the National Academy of History in Caracas. In appreciation of their value, the government of Venezuela has recently caused them to be published. For rescuing these manuscripts from oblivion and making them available for study by others, Professor Robertson deserves the thanks of all historians of Latin America, both those who write in Spanish and those who write in English. For the latter, however, after reading this biography there seems to be little hope of finding in them anything new.

The life of Miranda has always been full of interest to such historians, yet it has heretofore contained too much of mystery and tradition to enable them to weigh the importance of his services. Now this mystery has been dispelled and his life has been searched and characterized by an authority whose findings can not be questioned.

The first volume of Professor Robertson's *Life* deals with Miranda's

early experiences as an officer in the Spanish army and as a general in the French Revolution; with his travels in America and through Europe; and with his efforts, while living in England, to secure the aid of the British government for revolutionizing South America.

Many interesting and formerly obscure details as to the activities in London of other South American agitators for independence have been cleared up. The relations of Miranda with Caro, Nariño, Antepara, Pozo y Sucre, Iznardi, and Pavia have been explained by extracts from letters and journals. The vacillations of British statesmen like Pitt, Vansittart, Dundas, and Sir Arthur Wellesley in the matter of helping the Spanish colonies gain their independence have been revealed as they never have been before. In the opinion of the reviewer, the only obscure point not made clear pertains to the reasons for Miranda's dismissal from the Spanish army.

The second volume covers Miranda's career as the first dictator of South America, his failure to maintain the independence of Venezuela, and his sufferings and death in prison. The causes of Miranda's failure in the Leander expedition, and of his attempts to defeat Monteverde are fully explained, as are the reasons for the betrayal of Miranda by Bolivar, Las Casas, and other patriot leaders after his capitulation of San Mateo. Miranda's efforts to secure his own release and that of his compatriots from Spanish prisons are vividly portrayed in the letters of Miranda himself to his friends in England.

In the final chapter entitled *The Man and his Role in History*, the author gives his illuminating and much needed estimate. Miranda is revealed as a human being who had as many faults as virtues. The glamor which ordinarily surrounds the "Precursor of South American Independence" has not been rudely torn aside, but the curtain has been pushed far enough back so that the whole stage and the positions of all the actors are revealed. The evidence which has been laid before the reader in previous chapters is here summed up and tested in a manner so convincing that it can not help carrying conviction.

There is a bibliography of nineteen pages, ten of which comprise source material. This and the full and well arranged index will prove valuable. It is noted that most of the footnotes refer to the Miranda manuscripts and other source material and that few references to secondary works are given. The proof reading has been so carefully done that the reviewer has noted no typographical errors, not even in the accents on Spanish names.

The volumes themselves are well worthy of their contents. Although not claiming to be a *de luxe* edition, they answer that description so nearly that the publisher, the University of North Carolina Press, may well be proud of them. Thirty-eight full-page illustrations, most of them portraits or maps, add to the interest, attractiveness, and beauty of this work.

Lake Forest College.

ALFRED HASBROUCK.



## SHORTER NOTICES

*A History of the Hebrew People, from the Earliest Times to the Year 70 A.D., largely in the Language of the Bible.* Prepared by George A. Barton, Ph.D., S.T.D., LL.D., Professor of Semitic Languages and the History of Religion in the University of Pennsylvania, and of the New Testament Literature and Language in the Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia. [The Century Historical Series.] (New York, Century Company, 1930, pp. ix, 464, \$3.50.) Professor Barton has compiled a unique history. He has tried to tell the story of the Hebrew people's experience largely in the language of the Old Testament itself as translated in the Revised Version of 1885 A.D. To do this, he has analyzed the Hexateuch into its original documents and let them tell the story of the early times. He has prefixed one chapter on the Asiatic Background of Hebrew History and a second on How to Understand the Early Traditions of the Bible. Twenty-three more chapters complete the book. Short paragraphs of Professor Barton's own composition are inserted here and there to supplement or explain the Biblical text through archaeological material or historical matter from non-Biblical sources. The book constitutes an admirable guide to the study of Biblical history and will serve a useful purpose as a textbook for college classes in Hebrew history. Not all of Professor Barton's conclusions will be acceptable to every scholar, but that is a result that no author could expect. The prophets, the law, the Psalms, Proverbs, and the Book of Job are all inadequately treated, but to have given them all full treatment would have enlarged the book unduly. There are misprints to be corrected in a later edition. On page 241, it is an error to say that the Moabites were invading the country when Elisha was buried; the statement in 2 Kings 13: 21 is rather to the effect that as they were burying an unnamed man they saw a band of Moabites and dropped the corpse into Elisha's tomb whereupon the dead man came to life again. In his brief paragraph on Proverbs (p. 366), no mention is made of the recent discovery of the Egyptian original of Proverbs 22: 17-24: 22. The last forty-four pages of the text are from Professor Barton's own pen. He carries the history down to the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. and makes large use of the Books of the Maccabees and other non-canonical texts.

*The University of Chicago.*

J. M. P. SMITH.

*Karanis: Topographical and Architectural Report of Excavations during the Season 1924-1928.* By Arthur E. R. Boak and Enoch E. Peterson. [University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, volume XXV.] (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1931, pp. vii, 69, 42 plates, 6 plans, \$3.00.) The ruins of the village of Karanis (Kôm Aushim), situated in the northeastern part of the Fayum, the most fertile section of ancient Egypt, were identified in 1895-1896 by Messrs. Grenfell, Hunt, and Hogarth. These scholars excavated there for three

weeks at that time, and again for ten days in 1900. Karanis was settled at an unknown date in the Ptolemaic period, and was probably gradually abandoned during the fifth century A.D. The ruins occupy an area of about one quarter of a square mile. Many papyri from this site, discovered by excavators and by Egyptian peasants, are now preserved in European and American collections. Professor F. W. Kelsey, as director of the University of Michigan Near East Expeditions, first proposed the methodical excavation of a Graeco-Roman village in Egypt. Karanis, because its ruins, in spite of the activities of diggers for *sebakh* (fertilizing earth), were better preserved than those of other Fayum villages, was selected for this purpose in 1924, and annual excavations have been carried on there since that year.

This highly informative volume contains a general report of the excavations of four winters. Finds of papyri, coins, glass, etc., receive only brief mention, the report being chiefly devoted to the buildings. In general, the excavators found an occupation level dating from about 350 to 450 A.D. superimposed upon other levels of the earlier empire. In some sections foundations of houses of the Ptolemaic period were uncovered. With the help of the large collection of admirably clear photographs and plans, the reader is enabled to form a vivid mental picture of the plan and construction of the houses of the village, and of many of the household arrangements in detail. The building materials and their use, the granaries and other storage receptacles, the ovens, the dovecotes, and pens for domestic animals, are all clearly described and pictured, as well as the arrangement of the house-blocks and streets. Figures 48, 49, and 71 show interesting wall paintings, and an important find of sixty gold coins of the second century in exceptionally good condition, is briefly described (p. 38).

Messrs. Boak and Peterson, both of whom have taken a prominent part in the excavations, deserve the gratitude of all students of antiquity for this well arranged and useful volume. Recent news from the excavation encourages us to hope for further highly interesting reports.

Columbia University.

CLINTON W. KEYES.

*Scipio Africanus in the Second Punic War.* By Howard H. Scullard, M.A., Ph.D., sometime Scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge, Classical Tutor, Hackney and New College, London University. [Thirwall Prize Essay, 1929.] (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan Company, 1930, pp. xv, 331, \$5.00.) In these days, when ancient military history is sorely neglected, it is a pleasure to welcome a careful and, in the main, convincing presentation of Scipio's Spanish and African campaigns. Inevitably Mr. Scullard is heavily indebted to the work of previous scholars; but he has gone anew and with care over the ancient evidence and has visited the important sites in Spain. Hence his book by no means lacks fresh interpretations and luminous criticisms. The capture of New Carthage and the battle of Baecula are admirably treated;

the discussions of Ilipa and of Zama are more open to question on points of detail. In passing, we may refer to a new reconstruction of the problematic engagement at Ilipa essayed by F. Taeger (*Klio*, 24, 2 [1931], pp. 339-347). Perhaps the most serious blemish on this monograph is a certain youthful intolerance toward his predecessors' work, which now and then leads the author into the opposite fault of undervaluing the importance of source criticism. Some individual judgments may also provoke dissent. Does not the Scipio before the Spanish mutineers, recreated on the basis of Livy by R. S. Conway, whom Mr. Scullard follows, belong to melodrama rather than to history? The author omits to bring out clearly the fact that one reason for the opposition on the part of senators to Scipio's proposed invasion of Africa is likely to have been their recollection, direct or derived from their fathers, of the disaster that overtook a similar expedition during the First Punic War. The comparison between his hero and the late Lord Curzon, resting, as it does, on a few superficial resemblances, might well have been omitted from the book. Taken as a whole, however, this study may be cordially recommended.

Cornell University.

M. L. W. LAISTNER.

*Church, State, and Study.* By Ernest Barker, Professor of Political Science in the University of Cambridge. (London, Methuen and Company, 1930, pp. vi, 280, 10 s. 6 d.) We can be grateful for the assembling in a single compact volume of these twelve articles and lectures, with a reprint, as an appendix, of the author's tribute in the *English Historical Review* to Lord Bryce, for it is doubtful if many libraries have the files of periodicals and proceedings of learned societies in which most of them have been previously printed. While each paper is an independent unit, they all deal with some phase of "the history or the theory of society". The analysis is largely philosophical, but the arrangement and method of treatment are primarily historical. The volume as a whole reveals the keen power of discrimination of Professor Barker, and the breadth of his erudition. So wide is the range of topics discussed or alluded to (and in the case even of *obiter dicta* there is often wise and illuminating comment) it is hardly fair to the user of the book that it lacks an index, which would add immeasurably to the serviceability of such a treatise; for the collection of essays and addresses is virtually this.

In the first four papers, four successive theories of the state are presented, although the last two were in part contemporaneous. This sequence consists of the Roman Conception of Empire, the Unity of Mediaeval Civilization, an exposition of the *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos*, as a Huguenot Theory of Politics, and one of Puritanism, in which perhaps his emphasis upon its "drastic unification of life" is most thought compelling, especially when he elsewhere (p. 153) admits that "It is Congregationalism, however, and not Calvinism, which has influenced English political thought most deeply". For Professor Barker the state is not



an end in itself; it "is nothing but ourselves organized in an ordered life", and whether in domestic or international relations, it is subject to the "eternal principles" of ethics and religion. The last four papers deal with education, and include Dr. Barker's inaugural lecture as professor of political science at the University of Cambridge, in which his exposition of the relations of political science to history and other branches of learning may be considered his pedagogical creed.

*The Library of Congress.*

WILLIAM H. ALLISON.

*The Constitutional History of England to 1216.* By William Alfred Morris, Ph.D., Professor of English History in the University of California. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1930, pp. xii, 430, \$2.75.) This first volume of an English constitutional history has been written because so much of Stubbs can not now be used. It aims to give a somewhat detailed and yet not unwieldy presentation of the fruit of the past forty years' research in the field and the author's own study of the sources. Professor Morris has produced a book of much learning, a wonderfully safe and complete guide to the best books and articles, also chronicles and documents. It is objective, containing a minimum of interpretative discussion and no "new and striking theories". No student will get from it a more simplified and rationalized notion of the English government than the facts justify; the treatment leans to the chronological, the reader often being left to pick up and put together parts of a theme; the writing lacks carrying-on power, and is sometimes slipshod. There are four parts, dealing in turn with origins, the Anglo-Saxon period, the Norman monarchy, and the early Angevins. Each of the sixteen chapters is followed by a critical bibliography, and the footnote references are many. The narrative summaries prefixed to four of the chapters are too short to be of value.

There is unusual emphasis on local government, where the author's own work has contributed, and on the relations of church and state. Yet the backgrounds of the Becket matter are not consecutively traced and the treatment of William I.'s Ordinance is not adequate. Some great themes are left largely to the reader's deductions: effects of English insular peace and strong monarchy on classes in society; the juries outside the courts and the developing practices of representation and election; the evolution of the charter-of-liberty idea; the post-Conquest kings' opening of their courts to general litigation, and the growth of writs. And there is no unified treatment of the judicial jury and no adequate picture of the exchequer in the days of the Dialogue. It is strange that one who knows so well the idiom of the time should say so much about the *curia regis*.

*The University of Minnesota.*

A. B. WHITE.

*Genoese Shipping in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.* By Eugene H. Byrne, Professor of History in the University of Wisconsin. (Cambridge, Mediaeval Academy of America, 1930, pp. ix, 159, \$2.75.)

This monograph continues Professor Byrne's studies on the early notarial archives of Genoa. Like the others, most of the present work is new in basic material and in emphasis. Greater space, however, now permits the publication of supporting documents. The study proper follows Professor Byrne's original bent. He is only incidentally concerned with naval architecture, although even here he draws out material expanding our knowledge of Mediterranean ships. Chief emphasis is in the field of business history. For example, the growth of the ship-share or *loca* system is known to have affected credit operations and bank-share concepts. This study gives all we may ever know about the *loca* system as it matured in one of its main centers of development. The most original and difficult work is on contracts between merchants and shipowners. The chapter on these constitutes the only work of the kind yet attempted. Problems of ship management, ways and means for the transport of cargo and passengers, together with freight charges, are the main concern. In addition, however, there is information on contract and merchant law, on general commercial practice and merchant habits, and on commodities and ship armament. Painstaking technical work is everywhere in evidence. There are brief chapters on ships' scribes and privateering.

The documents, fifty-five contracts, have been carefully published *in extenso*. Similar documents have been published earlier but this is now the largest and best edited collection available.

Only minor criticisms may be made. Notes refer to the original registers instead of to the same documents as now published in this monograph. Cross references by page would be more convenient. Praiseworthy rigidity transcribes the texts literally, yet a little revision would often aid understanding of a text's meaning (*cf.* family name, "Manens", p. 106). Footnotes with the documents, giving secondary but useful information, would be desirable in places.

*The University of Nebraska.*

ROBERT L. REYNOLDS.

*Het Wonderjaar te Antwerpen, 1566-1567: Inleiding tot te Studie der Godsdienstonlusten te Antwerpen van 1566 tot 1585.* Door Dr. Rob. van Roosbroeck. (Antwerp, De Sikkels, 1930, pp. xxv, 527, 85 fr.) This dissertation presents a comprehensive treatment of the religious and political disturbances in Antwerp during the year 1566-1567, a year filled with so many strange episodes that among Belgian writers it is often referred to as the *Wonderjaar*, or the year of wonders. The author, who has investigated the subject in a most painstaking fashion, guides the reader through a labyrinth of disorders, negotiations, and prosecutions, until a point is reached where Antwerp ceases to be a focus of aggressive Protestantism. The bibliography is excellent, the footnotes are adequate, and the index is helpful. Writers like Motley are not even referred to in footnotes and bibliography, for only those studies are mentioned in which trustworthy contributions to the subject have been made.

The city of Antwerp as the commercial metropolis of Western Europe, naturally was strongly affected by a great variety of intellectual and religious movements. It was of the utmost importance to the forces of the Counter-Reformation that Antwerp be saved for the Catholic faith. In 1567 many thousands of Calvinists, Lutherans, and Anabaptists were forced to leave the city for England, Holland, and the Rhenish provinces. But though Antwerp was saved for the Roman Catholic Church, and the southern Netherlands with it, nevertheless the victory of the Catholics was minimized by the rapid decline of the great port.

It might be observed that the author follows R. H. Tawney and M. Weber in wrongly assuming that Calvinism in the sixteenth century was more favorable to the growth of capitalism than either Catholicism or Lutheranism. He could undoubtedly have profited much from a careful reading of K. Holl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte* (I. 499-518).

*The University of Michigan.*

A. HYMA.

*Heinrich von Staden: Aufzeichnungen über den Moskauer Staat.* Nach der Handschrift des Preussischen Staatsarchivs in Hannover, herausgegeben von Fritz Epstein. [Hamburgische Universität. Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde, Band 34, Reihe A, Band 5.] (Hamburg, Friederichsen, De Gruyter and Company, 1930, pp. 62\*, 308, 25 M.) Heinrich von Staden's report on the conditions of Moscow czardom under the rule of John the Terrible belongs to the most important sources on this subject. Staden, a German by birth, a native of Westphalia, joined the Russian troops during their war against Poland in 1564 and succeeded in becoming a member of the ruling Russian group of those days, the so-called *Oprichnina*. He was a member of that body for several years and left Russia after the change of policy of the czar and the abolition of the institution of the *Oprichnina*. While again in Central Europe, he compiled a report on Russian affairs which he managed to convey to the Emperor Rudolph II.

Staden urged a foreign intervention in Russia; according to his opinion Russia could not make a stand against it, since the nation was in desperate opposition to the czar. His report is especially valuable because of the fact that he had an opportunity to examine Russian society not as an outsider but as a member of the ruling group; he took, personally, considerable part in the atrocities of the *Oprichniks* and speaks about them with a naïve simplicity.

Staden's manuscript has been kept in the state archives of Hannover. While attention of scholars was drawn to it in the beginning of the twentieth century, it was only after the World War that a Russian translation of the manuscript was published (Moscow, 1925, with an introductory note by I. I. Polosin). Dr. Fritz Epstein has undertaken to publish the German original of Staden's report. The text is accompanied by a great many scholarly notes and is preceded by an introduction which



presents a careful analysis of the manuscript and detailed information about the personality of Staden. There are several appendixes dealing with various problems of Russian history of the period. The indexes are excellent. Dr. Epstein has an exhaustive knowledge both of the original sources and of the scholarly works in Russian as well as in other languages. The book is indispensable to every student of the Muscovite period of Russian history.

Yale University.

G. VERNADSKY.

*De Zuid-Nederlandsche Norbertijner Abdijen en de Opstand tegen Spanje, Maart 1576-1585.* Door Dr. P. Emiel Valvekens, O. Praem. Sc. Hist. Lic., Archivaris der Abdij te Averbode, Secretaris der Commissio Historica Ordinis Praemonstratensis. [Universiteit van Leuven. Recueil de Travaux publiés par les Membres des Conférences d'Histoire et de Philologie, 2<sup>e</sup> Reeks.] (Louvain, Librairie Universitaire, 1929, pp. xxvii, 287.) The author of this beautifully printed dissertation is evidently a man of considerable literary talent (although his word order is often more French than Flemish), as well as a fair-minded member of the Roman Catholic clergy. He has wisely chosen a topic of which one can give an exhaustive treatment in a single volume. The history of the monasteries during the Eighty Years' War (1568-1648), as he correctly states, has not yet received proper attention. But he has limited himself in the present study to the Premonstratensian abbeys in the Spanish Netherlands. A great many of the sources consulted by him have never been published before. They throw much welcome light on an important, though little known, subject.

The story opens with the frank confession that monasteries in the southern Netherlands, even twenty years after the Council of Trent, were not what the founders of monasticism had wished them to become. Although at the opening of the sixteenth century the Premonstratensian Order had attempted a reformation, the effort had resulted in failure. Shortly after the year 1550, however, the abbey of Parc, near Louvain, inaugurated a thoroughgoing reform, which gradually spread in all directions.

When Alva arrived in the Low Countries (1567), monks joined merchants in resisting the dreaded *alcabala*. In the south, however, loyalty to the Spanish monarch grew hand in hand with the disappearance of Protestantism. As army after army passed through the southern provinces, many abbeys were plundered or destroyed. Perhaps it was this eventful period of storm and stress, so ably delineated by Valvekens, that contributed most to the return of religious fervor in the Premonstratensian abbeys.

The University of Michigan.

A. HYMA.

*The Social and Economic Development of Scotland before 1603.* By I. F. Grant. (Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1930, pp. xii, 594, 21 s.) Miss Grant made her reputation a few years ago by her *Everyday Life*

on an Old Highland Farm. In the present volume she deals with a wider subject and an earlier period, her evidence is less adequate and less certain and her conclusions are more tentative. But her treatment of a difficult and obscure theme is not merely the best thing that has been written on the subject—in the dearth of literature upon Scottish economic history, this would be small praise—it shows high powers alike of investigation, argumentation, and exposition. It would be easy to find in her pages suggestions and, occasionally, generalizations with which to disagree, but the discussion, as a whole, is remarkable for sound and balanced judgment, and the work is a distinct and important contribution to knowledge.

The book begins with the feudalization of Lowland Scotland—the development of the clan system in the Highlands is reserved for a final chapter—and a large proportion of it is occupied with an analysis of the peculiarly Scottish features of feudalism. One of the most striking aspects of Scottish medieval life is the early extinction of villenage and the absence of any peasant rising in all the troubled history of the country. Miss Grant is doubtless right in ascribing to the War of Independence a powerful influence in this connection; the prevalence of short leases of small holdings may, we believe, have aided the tendency. The landlord probably found it more profitable to let his lands to freemen for a period of three years than to have it cultivated by serfs. The introduction of feu-holding, which absorbed many of the short leases, came too late to undo this effect.

One of the notable features of the book is Miss Grant's exposition of the nature and results of the feuing movement, *i.e.*, the grant of perpetual leases with fixed annual payments. In spite of the circumstance that the system is peculiarly Scottish and that, after the abolition of the old feudal tenures "practically the whole of the land of Scotland came to be held in feu farm", little attention has been paid to its origins or to the early social effects produced by it. Space forbids even a summary of Miss Grant's discussion, but the pages in which she expounds and explains the system are well worthy of the attention of students of the history of land tenures.

*The University of Glasgow.*

ROBERT S. RAIT.

*Constitutional Documents of the Reign of James I., A.D. 1603-1625.* With an Historical Commentary. Edited by J. R. Tanner, Litt.D., Fellow and formerly Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan Company, 1930, pp. xv, 389, \$7.50.) In this work, covering the reign of James I., the late Dr. Tanner has brought out a companion volume to his *Tudor Constitutional Documents*. As in the earlier work, the main problems of constitutional development are treated topically, with sections dealing with the Succession Question and Divine Right, the Union with Scotland, Religion, the Secretary of State, the Star Chamber, the High Commission Court, the Crown and the Judges, Parliament, and Finance. It is to be regretted

that there is no equivalent for the valuable chapter on local government included in *Tudor Constitutional Documents*; on the other hand, finance is more adequately and fully dealt with.

From the enormous mass of statutes, cases, speeches, pamphlets, and notes of this period, both in print and in manuscript, Dr. Tanner has chosen the salient extracts with rare judgment. His elimination of citations of precedents and reiterations of words and phrases which clutter up the sense and confuse even the more mature scholar adds to the pedagogical effectiveness of the selections.

Each section is preceded by a brief historical commentary. While some of these commentaries are taken in part from the author's *English Constitutional Conflicts of the Seventeenth Century*, those dealing with the Secretary of State, the Privy Council, the Star Chamber, and the High Commission Court are entirely new. Read together they form a most brilliant exposition of early Stuart constitutional development, and contribute to the revision of current estimates of James I.'s policies by a clear recognition of factors, neglected in the traditional view, which determined his line of action.

The volume bids fair to take its place as the standard source book of the early Stuart period, just as *Tudor Constitutional Documents* has already done for the preceding era.

*The University of Illinois.*

FREDERICK C. DIETZ.

*Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap.* Deel LI. (Utrecht, Kemink and Son, 1930, pp. lxii, 335, 57, 6.25 fl.) This is one of the most interesting volumes ever published by the leading historical society in the Netherlands. Not only does it contain several articles relating to American history, but it also presents an index to the first fifty volumes of the *Bijdragen*.

The first contribution is a report by Abraham van Hoey, the ambassador of the Dutch Republic in France, submitted after his dismissal and return to Holland in 1747. The report shows that from 1740 to 1747 the relations between France and Holland grew steadily worse, in spite of Van Hoey, who was often styled "a willing creature of Fleury". It has been edited by J. Z. Kannegieter. There follows a note by S. P. L'Honoré Naber, comprising a report by Admiral Piet Heyn, addressed to the Amsterdam Chapter of the Dutch West India Company, and dated August 11, 1627, in which Heyn explains why during the past few months he had been unable to accomplish much.

New light is thrown on the results of the Triple Alliance of 1668 in a lengthy epistle by Bishop Bernard van Galen, of Münster, in which he informs Pope Clement IX. about the activities of the dangerous Dutch "heretics". He proposes a plan of attack on Holland, and in polished Latin sets forth a scheme of conquest at the expense of the Protestants which Louis XIV. and Louvois should have carried out in 1672, for if they had been less hesitant, they could have seized Amsterdam



without serious difficulty. The letter has been edited by J. D. M. Cornelissen, who adds a useful introduction.

The last article, and also the longest, contains a series of letters by the governor of the Dutch colonies in Central and South America during the years from 1827 to 1829, edited by B. de Gaay Fortman—a valuable source of information on economic conditions in the Dutch West Indies and Surinam (Dutch Guiana).

*The University of Michigan.*

A. HYMA.

*L'Activité Intellectuelle de l'Angleterre d'après l'Ancien "Mercure de France", 1672-1778.* Par S. Lovering, Docteur de l'Université de Paris, M.A., Université de Californie. (Paris, E. de Boccard, 1931, pp. 324, 40 fr.) The author of this work on the influence of the intellectual life of England in the eighteenth century upon contemporary France makes no extravagant claim to originality. The purpose is simply to trace the extent of that influence on lesser writers as well as on those of the first rank. In order to do this the author studies the *Mercure de France* and its predecessors of various names, beginning with the *Mercure Galant*, choosing this particular periodical because of its wide scope, in preference to the *Gazette* which concerned itself only with political matters and the *Journal des Savants* which confined itself to science and literature. For the sake of clarity the study is divided into three periods (1672-1724, 1724-1756, 1756-1778), the limits of which are determined either by the changing character of the *Mercure* or by the changing relations between England and France. The year 1778 is taken as the limit because then the *Mercure de France* and the *Journal Politique* were amalgamated and the combined publication became more political in character.

The main part of the work consists of a careful analysis of the various *Mercures* from which the following conclusions are drawn. During the first part of the first period, that is, up to 1700, what little interest the *Mercure Galant* took in England was in things political and its general attitude was hostile or at best indifferent. From 1700, however, it began to take interest in scientific discoveries made in England, especially in medicine, such as experiments in vaccination for smallpox. Its attitude toward English literature, especially the drama, was one of condescension not to say disdain. From 1724 to 1756 there was a decided change. Along with a growing interest in the notable progress in England in experimental science there was developed a more appreciative attitude toward English literature in general, and a more tolerant spirit toward the English drama in particular. In the third period this interest and appreciation became enthusiastic admiration.

It is not the restatement of this well-known trend which gives the work any claim to merit, but the corroboration of that trend through a special study of one particular source and the presentation of the results of that study with clarity and succinctness.

*Vassar College.*

ELOISE ELLERY.

*Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennem Øresund, 1661-1783, og gennem Storebælt, 1701-1748.* Ved Nina Ellinger Bang og Knud Korst. Første Del, *Tabeller over Skibsfarten*. [Udarbejdede efter de Bevarede Regnskaber over Øresundstolden og Bælttolden. Udgivne paa Bekostning af en International Indsamling.] (Copenhagen, Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag, 1930, pp. xviii, 478.) Mrs. Bang became interested in the Danish Sound dues in 1894. She saw their value for economic history and worked out a means of presenting their contents in abbreviated form. The volume of the manuscripts is tremendous; only by a system of tabulation could they be put in print. The period covered is 1497-1783. The first volume, dealing with navigation approximately up to 1660, appeared in 1906; the volume covering the same period, but treating of goods transported, appeared in 1922 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXIX. 370). The present volume is the counterpart of the first but covers the period from 1661 to 1783. Since Mrs. Bang died (in 1928) two years before the work was finished, a good deal remained to be done by Mr. Knud Korst, who has put the material into its finished form.

The great bulk of the work is occupied with two sets of tables, one giving the home port and the port of departure of all ships passing through the Sound and the other showing both the home port and the port of destination of only the loaded ships. Much less information is available for navigation by way of the Grand Belt.

This work is a mine of information concerning navigation and would be of great interest to anyone studying the influence of the British navigation acts upon the Dutch carrying trade. American trade enters the scene only in 1741 and is very scant up to the end of the period in 1783. There are discrepancies in the information about the home ports of ships and omissions in the data concerning Swedish and Danish shipping. The work is a monumental example of the application of the statistical method to history. It has the merit of giving fairly exact general information, but the demerit of presenting not a single real entry from the records. The notes and indexes, however, are useful adjuncts to the tables. A good deal of careful study is required before the student can safely find his way through the volume, but the use of French at strategic points greatly facilitates the work.

*Harvard University.*

N. S. B. GRAS.

*Histoire des Insurrections de l'Ouest.* Par Léon Dubreuil. Tome II. [Manuels d'Histoire Moderne.] (Paris, Rieder, 1930, pp. 396, 30 fr.) M. Dubreuil does not bring his treatment of this subject to an end with the close of the Revolution, or even with the pacification accomplished under the Consulate, but has final chapters on the Chouannerie de 1815, with L'Équipée de la Duchesse de Berry as an epilogue, and on the État Politique et Social de l'Ouest aux Environs de 1830. This enables the reader to connect the phenomena of the Vendean and Chouan troubles with the tendencies of western France in the later nineteenth century.

The first six chapters, the bulk of the volume, are given to the sinister struggle of "Blues" and "Whites" during the Revolution. In reference to the notorious Carrier, the reader finds that M. Dubreuil is not so much of an apologist as certain sentences in volume I. might suggest (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVI. 132). He speaks of Carrier as a person of mediocre qualities, with an irascible temperament, adding the significant sentence: "On ne saura jamais combien les colères des Conventionnels . . . ont fait tort à leurs auteurs et aux idées de la Révolution." M. Dubreuil also explains that at first the inhabitants of Nantes themselves preferred the method of "noyades" (which Carrier did not invent) to the "fusillades", because after the latter the citizens of Nantes were requisitioned to bury the corpses! It is of General Turreau and his "colonnes infernales" that the author becomes a defender. He believes that Turreau carried out orders, for which, it may be remarked, he had no taste. Moreover, his action anticipated a new outburst of the insurrection, and did not cause it. He caught the Vendéans unprepared and struck such crushing blows that the way was made ready for the pacification successfully engineered by General Hoche in 1795. M. Dubreuil writes of Hoche with warm admiration. The most dramatic description in the book is that of the ill-fated Quiberon affair. For the reader, not well acquainted with western France, the one lack in M. Dubreuil's work is sketch maps of the military operations of Turreau and Hoche.

*Histoire Diplomatique de l'Indépendance Belge.* Par Fl. De Lannoy, Professeur à la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, Institut Saint-Louis, Bruxelles. (Brussels, Albert Dewit, 1930, pp. 395, 40 fr.) Metternich, when asked about the Congress of London which was called to discuss the situation created by the Belgian revolt in 1830, declared that he could not say whether the rôle of the congress was "intervenante, médiatrice, ou arbitre". The Abbé De Lannoy believes that the congress began as a mediating body. So, at least, its early pronouncements would indicate. But, as time went on, the action of the congress tended to partake more and more of direct intervention. And, in its final declarations, it pronounced sovereign and irrevocable decisions. To M. De Lannoy this conclave of the European powers was simply "la fille cadette du Congrès de Vienne", with the important difference that it admitted a new nation into Western Europe. Incidentally, it recognized a nation whose spirit and institutions were quite different from those that most of the statesmen at Vienna would have desired.

The theme of this work is the explanation of this change of tone, from mediation to intervention, on the part of the diplomats at London. The author emphasizes with considerable detail the interests of certain of the European powers in the affairs of the Netherlands. Prussia herself was jealous of the formation of a new state and only the difficulties of the Prussian king and the Polish revolt prevented a more serious



opposition in that quarter. England was concerned with the security of the passages for her commerce into North Germany. Louis Philippe, the new king of France, played an important part in saving the Belgian cause. M. De Lannoy stresses, however, the interesting fact that Talleyrand, French ambassador to London, hoped, at first, to gain more land for France. It was, however, Palmerston supported by Lord Grey, who finally accomplished the establishment of a new state, neutral and liberal, on the borders of France.

But the Belgium that resulted from the London negotiations was not the Belgium that the nationalists desired. It was a nation incomplete and mutilated: Maestricht, Luxembourg, and part of Flanders which, the author asserts, were distinctly Belgian in racial, historical, and religious traditions, were excluded from the union. M. De Lannoy is himself a true nationalist although he does not carry his opinions down into the present day.

The details of these important discussions have been based on published and unpublished dispatches and reports of the European statesmen who participated directly and indirectly in the London Congress. Some of the documents that have been used have been unavailable until recent times. This book presents a well documented, carefully considered, and interesting account of the diplomatic history of Belgian independence. As such it is a useful companion piece to the splendid work of M. Pirenne.

Yale University.

JOHN M. S. ALLISON.

*A Modern History of the English People, 1880-1922.* By R. H. Gretton. (New York, Dial Press, 1930, pp. 1185, \$5.00.) The three books written by Mr. Gretton on modern English history, and published in 1912, 1914, and 1929 respectively, are now presented for the first time in a single volume edition. A cryptic announcement on the jacket states, "that if ever history was written without tears, this is the history". With this remark one is inclined to agree. There is nothing in the book which will arouse the emotions. It clicks off the years, one at a time, with the impartiality of an adding machine; also with a machinelike accuracy and smoothness, not without its pleasing features.

Mr. Gretton has written on an unusual plan. His history is like the *Annual Register*, a jotting down of the major events of contemporary interest as they occur. The result is that the only sequence is a chronological one. For instance, in 1884, and all in one chapter, may be found descriptions of such diverse events as the siege of Khartum, an attempt to swim the English Channel, Dr. Jaeger and dress reform, university education in Wales, the Reform Bill, and the introduction of refrigerated meats into England. Again, turning to 1900, in conjunction with the Boer War and the Khaki election, we find paragraphs on the twopenny tube, St. George Mivart and Catholic modernism, and archæology in Crete.

The result is not so bad as might be expected. The *Annual Register* is interesting reading, and writing broadly based on it, as this volume

in large measure seems to be, has a peculiar sociological value often missing in more formal histories. The London *Times Literary Supplement* tells us that "this book penetrates an atmosphere"—it does. It tells us what contemporary society considered news. Mr. Gretton, by way of illustration, does not bother about diplomatic negotiations carried on in Paris in 1919; what he describes is the sinking of the German ships at Scapa Flow and the popular demand that the Kaiser be hanged.

Some would consider the author a chronicler rather than an historian. His book is not history from the point of view of analyzing that which we like to think of as permanently important; on the other hand, it is history in so far as it reflects the passing moods of the moment. Almost everything is included here—an assortment of popular athletes and of popular murders, Tod Sloan and his American saddle, and how Lady Astor was dressed when she first took her seat in the House of Commons. In all fairness to Mr. Gretton this is what he intended to do. If we grant the desirability of the end, we must commend the performance.

Princeton University.

WALTER PHELPS HALL.

*Der Wirtschaftliche Zusammenbruch Oesterreich-Ungarns: die Tragödie der Erschöpfung.* Von Minister A.D.Dr. Gustav Gratz, und Sektionschef Prof. Dr. Richard Schüller. [Publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte des Weltkrieges, Oesterreiche und Ungarische Serie, James T. Shotwell, General Editor.] (Vienna, Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky; New Haven, Yale University Press, 1930, pp. xv, 307.)

*Krieg und Kriminalität in Deutschland.* Von Dr. Moritz Liepmann, Wieland Professor der Rechte, und Richter in Hamburg. [Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte des Weltkrieges, Deutsche Serie.] (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt; New Haven, Yale University Press, 1930, pp. xiii, 197, 10 M.) Austria-Hungary's economic collapse in 1918 is a familiar fact, and some of its phases have been treated in other studies of this series; but probably the fundamental features of that catastrophe have nowhere been presented so impressively as in former minister Gratz's record of the successive stages of his country's physical downfall. Dr. Schüller, who, like his associate in preparing this volume, played a high official part in the events which form its theme, contributes an introductory sketch of the political and economic antecedents which decisively influenced conditions in the Dual Monarchy during the conflict, and reviews briefly the measures adopted to save Austria from utter ruin after the Allies took control. An interesting appendix, occupying nearly one-third of the text, contains correspondence, relating to food supplies, between the premiers of Austria and of Hungary in 1915 and 1916.

Professor Liepmann's study of war and crime in Germany pairs with a book by Professor Exner upon the same subject in Austria, which also is part of the present series. Both authors are distinguished authorities

in criminal law, and analyze their factual material primarily from a sociological standpoint. It would require the spacious handling of a Macaulay, in the old *Edinburgh Review* days of leisurely reading and mature reflection, to do justice to what these analyses reveal or suggest. In Germany, where statistics are rather fuller or more fully presented than those of her neighbor, important groups of offenses, like crimes of violence, did not reach their peak until some years after the war was over, and convictions of youths and women did not return to their pre-war level until the middle 'twenties, suggesting a projection of war demoralization into the peace era for a period considerably longer than the duration of actual hostilities.

*The Library of Congress.*

VICTOR S. CLARK.

*Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc: Essai sur la Transformation Politique des Berbères Sédentaires (Groupe Chleuh).* Par Robert Montagne, Docteur ès Lettres, Directeur d'Études à l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines. [Bibliothèque de Philosophie Contemporaine.] (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1930, pp. xvi, 426, 75 fr.)

*Villages et Kasbas Berbères: Tableau de la Vie Sociale des Berbères Sédentaires dans le Sud du Maroc.* Par Robert Montagne. (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1930, pp. ix, 22, 72 plates, 50 fr.) We are reminded that political conditions in the Sus country and in the Atlas mountains have greatly changed. De Foucauld, De Segonzac, Walter Harris, and the other few, early, modern explorers of those regions could enter only in disguise, after long preparation for the part. Fortunately Montagne has been able to carry on the greater portion of his intensive study of the Berbers under much more favorable conditions. Most of the French Berber country is now pacified and friendly. Montagne was admirably qualified by his training, and greatly assisted by his connection with the Moroccan government, for the task upon which he entered some eight years ago. He has now given us a very complete report, in two large volumes. While his work has special reference to the Berbers of the south, the Chleuh, considerable information with regard to the Berbers of the Central Atlas and the Rif is included. He has given much attention to the life and customs of the Berbers, to those characteristics which are common to all Berbers, and to those which are local. He has described the various types of Berber architecture and explained the historical reasons for the variations. Perhaps the most important feature of his work is the detailed description of the development of the curious political organizations of the various groups of Berbers. The work is well indexed, with satisfactory maps, but a rather incomplete bibliography.

*Cambridge.*

GEORGE F. ANDREWS.

*The Planters of the Commonwealth: a Study of the Emigrants and Emigration in Colonial Times: to which are added Lists of Passengers to Boston and to the Bay Colony; the Ships which brought them; their*



*English Homes, and the Places of their Settlement in Massachusetts, 1620-1640.* By Charles Edward Banks, Member Massachusetts Historical Society and of the American Antiquarian Society. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930, pp. xiii, 231, \$7.50.) By gleaning industriously where Savage, Drake, and J. C. Hotten had labored, Colonel Banks has been able to identify a considerably larger number of emigrants to New England in the two decades after the sailing of the *Mayflower*. He has added approximately 1500 names to Hotten's lists, so that we have here the names of some 3600 passengers who arrived before 1641 out of a supposed total of around 21,000. Hotten printed verbatim from the manuscripts in the Public Record Office the rather jumbled custom house returns of persons embarked at the English ports. These Banks has analyzed in order to eliminate duplications and to sort out families and their servants. His additions are drawn from a variety of English and colonial documents, private papers, diaries. From similar sources and by genealogical research he has succeeded, as he believes, in determining the places of origin in England of some 2646 individuals. Unfortunately upon this capital point of English derivations—as also in specifying the places of settlement in New England—there is not sufficient indication of the evidence employed.

In his introductory essay the author has drawn up tables and maps of the county origins of his 2646 persons. He admits that his sample should be twice as large to serve as a basis for generalizations; but on the whole he confirms the conclusions of other students. For the rest, part I. is an interesting, if opinionated, study of various aspects of the great migration. He takes extreme ground in exalting economic above religious motives; certainly Winthrop is misrepresented (p. 21). He draws too sharp a contrast between the views of the West Country and Eastern elements, ignoring both the existence of a real Puritan group among the former, and the fact, which his own lists strikingly show, that many of them settled in the Bay towns, not by any means all in Maine and New Hampshire. Indeed, an inspection of part II. reveals that Banks has actually identified only a handful of Devon, Dorset, or Somerset men among the eastern settlers.

V. W. C.

*From Quebec to New Orleans: the Story of the French in America, Fort de Chartres.* By J. H. Schlarman, Ph.D. (Belleville, Illinois, Buechler Publishing Company, 1929, pp. 569, \$5.00.) The writer of this book combines with a touch of the epic gift a wide familiarity with secondary sources, including such as have been printed in the French and German languages. He has made use also of many manuscript items and collections of printed records, particularly those of Illinois, the Seminary of Quebec, Canadian archives, and Louisiana. He does not appear to have been cognizant of the material from the French archives now accessible in copies in the Library of Congress. The work impresses the

reviewer as representing diligent, patient, and fairly comprehensive scholarship.

In scope it covers the intricate movements of two hundred and forty years, from Jacques Cartier to George Rogers Clark, and the territory embraced in New France or Canada and French Louisiana, both conceived in their widest extent. There are forty-one chapters, of which the first four, as well as chapters XXVIII. to XXXI., and XXXVI., deal exclusively with New France, while the remaining thirty-two are mainly concerned with Louisiana, showing where the author's major interest lay. Within the latter group, seventeen chapters, or a majority of the whole, emphasize his concern with the middle section of Louisiana or the Illinois country to the partial exclusion of New Orleans—which defines the author's interest yet more narrowly. Stating it in the reverse order, Dr. Schlarman looks out from the Kaskaskia and Cahokia missions and Fort de Chartres upon that spectacular interplay of forces which make French-American history and its aftermath, until the close of the Revolutionary War. This was probably fortunate for, while New France has been treated at large in other works, and also the history of lower Louisiana, and that of the upper Mississippi region, this book brings to us a more vivid and intimate picture of what transpired in the Illinois country than is to be found elsewhere in any single volume.

The illustrations, numbering fifty-seven, are well chosen and the book is well made. It contains, however, at least the average number of typographical errors which plague the author of a first edition. Much of the text is in the form of quotations, selected with care and deftly fitted into the narrative.

*The State Historical Society of Wisconsin.* JOSEPH SCHAFER.

*Records of the Moravians in North Carolina.* Edited by Adelaide L. Fries, M.A., Archivist of the Moravian Church in America, Southern Province. Volume IV., 1780-1783. [Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission.] (Raleigh, Edwards and Broughton Company, 1930, pp. 1494-1962.) Quite an interval has elapsed since the appearance in 1926 of volume III. of this valuable and interesting series. Volume IV. completes the picture of the Revolutionary War as it affected the Moravian colonies in North Carolina. The last years, from 1780 to 1783, were the most stirring of all. Following the fall of Charleston and the defeat of the American army at Camden, Moravian towns were overrun successively by American and English troops. Supplies were levied in large quantities by friend and foe alike. Prisoners from King's Mountain were quartered at Bethabara, sick and wounded American soldiers were cared for in Salem, but the lawlessness of wandering parties of militia caused the Brethren real distress.

The second meeting of the assembly of North Carolina in 1782 took place in Salem, and this Moravian center thereby became favorably known to most of the leading men of the state. This resulted in an act

confirming the Moravians in their privileges and property rights in the Wachovia and other districts, and in the recognition of Reverend Frederic William Marshall as the person holding title for the Unity of Brethren. Traugott Bagge, who kept a store at Salem, and to whom we owe the valuable Bagge Papers (*cf.* vol. III.), took public office as a member of the assembly, auditor, and justice of the peace. In 1783 the assembly reduced the threefold to a simple tax. On July 4 of the same year the Unity of Brethren "solemnly and happily celebrated the Day of Thanksgiving for Peace, singing their Psalm of Joy".

Two papers, entitled: General Letter from Unity's Elders Conference, and Brotherly Agreement of Bethania, are placed at the beginning of the volume, because they "set forth the ideals of the Wachovia Moravians of the Revolutionary period, in religious and civic lines".

Part III. contains diaries, letters, reports, and lists of residents. The present volume is well illustrated and printed, and the editing also equals the high standard set by the earlier volumes.

*Cornell University.*

A. B. FAUST.

*Henry Villard and the Railways of the Northwest.* By James Blaine Hedges, Professor of American History in Clark University. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1930, pp. 224, \$3.00.) The author of this volume draws upon the collection of manuscripts, newspapers, and miscellaneous printed material in the collection of Villard Papers at Harvard University to supply a detailed account of the rivalries of transportation companies in the Northwest between 1870 and 1893. Of course, this means that he treats extensively of Henry Villard, because Villard was the leading figure in the area at that time; and it means that he attempts to explain Villard's policies and to appraise their success. What is quite as interesting, is that the author sets forth a general point of view. It is his contention that the conflicts between carriers in the Northwest during the years mentioned were fundamentally the expression of differences of interest between the Columbia River country on the one hand, and Puget Sound on the other, rather than mere competition of railroads for a single trade. It is generally known, of course, that Villard originally came to the Columbia in order to protect German bondholders in the Oregon and California. From this he was led to an interest in the Oregon Steamship Company, to the control of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company, and to the incorporation of the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company. The author points out that all of these companies were committed to the interests of Portland, Oregon, and desirous, when the time came, of making her the western terminus of a northern transcontinental route. He argues that the contrasting interest of the Northern Pacific was to free itself from dependence upon the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company, either by extending its own rails to Portland, or by constructing an alternative line to Puget Sound; and he presents evidence to show that the second motive was the



more persistently influential. The thesis is an interesting one, even though difficult to demonstrate beyond the possibility of dispute. Villard himself supported the construction of the Cascade branch, as well as the project for a direct connection between Portland and Puget Sound after he had secured control of the Northern Pacific. On the other hand, the negotiations between the Union Pacific and the Northern Pacific for the joint lease of the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company show that his eyes were rather persistently fixed on the outlet via Portland to the end of his connection with the western lines. Besides the particular interpretation just referred to, the book presents a large amount of material upon the railroad history of the Northwest, well documented and systematically arranged. It is an excellent contribution to the literature on western transportation.

*The University of California.*

STUART DAGGETT.

*Readings in Oklahoma History.* Edited by Edward Everett Dale and Jesse Lee Rader. (Evanston, Illinois, Row, Peterson and Company, 1930, pp. 865, \$4.00.) This volume is another evidence of the interest of the University of Oklahoma in the study of North American Indian civilization. The special merit of the work lies in the publication for the first time of many valuable documents typical of the data now found in the university manuscript collection. The Drinker manuscript describes New Orleans in 1811. The Cherokee Removal is represented by the unique claims collection. The Stand Watie and Boudinot originals reflect conditions in the Southwest and in the Indian Territory before the Civil War, the part which the Indians played in that conflict, and the movement of the Plains Indians to the Oklahoma region. A wide selection of papers illustrate the relation of the ranchmen to Indian lands. The chief criticism is that the work lacks an index.

*The University of Oklahoma.*

ALFRED B. THOMAS.

*Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1918.* [Publications of the Department of State.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1930, pp. cxi, 877, \$1.75.) Approximately one-sixth of the pages composing this volume are devoted to correspondence regarding China; the remainder are almost entirely given over to relations with the Latin American republics, with chief attention being accorded to Mexico. A ninety page list of papers precedes the correspondence, summarizing the subject of each paper; the list is arranged according to countries, giving the papers relating to each in chronological order. A large number of papers deal with routine or technical questions, cable-landing concessions in Argentina and Brazil, Cuban financial and sugar problems, railway claims in Ecuador. The reports on the Costa Rican régime, on the other hand, have color worthy of a Richard Harding Davis setting. The Chinese and Mexican sections contain material of the first importance for the diplomatic, economic, and political history of those

countries. Apart from several comprehensive and exceedingly objective reports by Mr. Reinsch on the political situation in China and the Far East generally, there is a long correspondence dealing with loan negotiations and the proposal for an international financial consortium. The political reports from Mr. Fletcher in Mexico are not so long, but contain admirable summaries of Mexican opinion and economic conditions which elucidate the lengthy correspondence regarding border disturbances, protection of American lives and properties, claims and protests, attempts to impede and smooth out commercial relations. A hasty summary of these papers indicates that the rather resentful spirit of President Carranza toward the United States was entirely representative of Mexican opinion, and also that, apart from Mexico, President Wilson's prestige in Latin America was extraordinarily high.

C. S.

*The People and Politics of Latin America.* By Mary Wilhelmine Williams, Ph.D., Professor of History in Goucher College. (Boston, Ginn and Company, 1930, pp. vii, 845, \$4.60.) Miss Williams has written a book which will command the attention of every teacher of Hispanic American history. Besides being the fourth college text treating the subject—the first having appeared in 1919—it is the first completely new text to be published since 1923. It is divided into thirty-three chapters of which the first three are introductory, dealing with the geographical stage, the native Americans, and the European background. Chapters IV. to XII., inclusive, cover the colonial period in a more or less topical fashion. Chapters XIII., XIV., and XV. deal with the period of transition during the wars of independence, while the remaining chapters treat the states individually and collectively in the so-called modern period. A helpful bibliography and a good index complete the work. There are nineteen maps, no one of which, however, contributes anything new.

Teachers will find the volume generally well balanced in treatment, although the space allotted to certain subjects will not please all. For example, the native background is unduly stressed, and certain still debated questions are treated in too dogmatic a tone. The European background might have been extended to include more fifteenth and sixteenth century Continental affairs, which formed part of the picture. The colonial period is well covered and clearly presented. The same may be said of the modern period, except that the international relations of Hispanic America, and particularly the relations of the different countries with European states, might with profit have been more extensively treated. On page 391 Cuba is incorrectly called the "youngest of the Latin American states", and in the map on page 575 the boundary of Antofagasta should be corrected. The English equivalents of Spanish words might be more consistently added, following the author's custom in

other instances in the work. Such things, however, detract very little from the great value of the book.

*George Washington University.*

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

*Lewis Henry Morgan, Social Evolutionist.* By Bernhard J. Stern. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1931, pp. ix, 221, \$2.50.) All anthropologists are (or ought to be) thoroughly familiar with Morgan's contributions, both factual and theoretical, to their science. But although familiar with Morgan's theories, anthropologists have been largely in the dark as regards the genesis and development of his system. They therefore are under the greatest obligations to Mr. Stern for elucidating these very points. An illuminating biography is the background for a proper understanding of these rather intricate matters. Mr. Stern has been able to use unpublished material, and the result has been that we have a very personal sketch. How many of us knew that Morgan's theory of the evolution of society was due to his orthodox Christianity? Or that Morgan was a politician as well as an anthropologist? But Mr. Stern has not only done well in the biographical portion; he has carefully appraised Morgan's scientific contributions; and it can be seen that he has read extensively and wisely, as shown by the bibliography at the end, and by the pertinent citation of authorities. The only item of any consequence that seems to have escaped him is Swanton's article, *Social Organization* (Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin* 30, part II., pp. 608 ff.).<sup>1</sup>

*Bureau of American Ethnology.*

TRUMAN MICHELSON.

*Ch'ing Tai Ch'ou Pan Yi Wu Shih Mo.* [*The Beginning and End of the Management of Barbarian Affairs under the Tsing Dynasty.*] (Peiping, Palace Museum, 1930 [Reign of Tao-kuang, 40 vols., \$24.00; reign of Hsien-feng, 40 vols., \$24.00; reign of T'ung-chih, 50 vols., \$30.00], complete set, \$78.00.) This is a documentary history of the foreign relations of China during the years from 1836 to 1874. It is unexcelled in its comprehensiveness and accuracy, as it is a reproduction of that valuable work, known as *Ch'ou Pan Yi Wu Shih Mo*, or *The Beginning and End of the Management of Barbarian Affairs*. The latter is an extensive collection of documents concerning the foreign relations of China, made in the various reigns of the late Tsing dynasty under the auspices of the government. The collection, carefully copied by scribes, was preserved in the imperial palace in Peking in its original manuscript form and for scores of years had been examined by very few persons. In 1925 the committee appointed to investigate and preserve the treasures of the palace found the collection in forbidden places. The one hundred books, bound in fifty volumes, for the reign of T'ung-chih, were discovered first, and the 160 books (eighty volumes) for the reigns of Tao-kuang and Hsien-feng soon afterward. Their value was immediately

<sup>1</sup> Printed by the courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution.



recognized by scholars. The Palace Museum thereupon launched plans for its publication. For some time the difficulties of raising the necessary funds proved embarrassing, but the Museum succeeded at last. The neatly printed pages now before us give rich and valuable information which could not be found elsewhere.

The work contains in chronological order the imperial edicts, the imperial rescripts, the memorials to the throne, and communications and correspondence of various descriptions. Mr. Lee Tsung-tung in his editorial supplement also promises that in future the Palace Museum will publish similar documents for the period prior to 1836 and for the period from 1875 to 1911.

*Cambridge.*

PING CHIA KUO.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

### AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

With the publication of the *Guide to Historical Literature* one of the major enterprises of the Association has been carried to successful conclusion. It owes much to Professor George M. Dutcher, who, as chairman of the Committee on Bibliography, presided over its inception. He remained chairman until 1928, when Professors Henry R. Shipman and Sidney B. Fay took over the leadership of the committee. The other members of the committee have been Dr. William H. Allison and Dr. Augustus H. Shearer. The publishers are to be congratulated upon embodying material which runs to over 1200 pages in a volume printed so clearly and so easily handled. The work is also evidence of a spirit of coöperation, for the list of contributors fills twenty pages. This journal will review the volume at a later time.

The *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1930, according to the present plans of the Committee on Publications, will consist of four volumes. Vol. I. will contain, besides the usual proceedings, reports, etc., a collection of Notes from the Archives of Scotland concerning America, which were collected by Dr. J. F. Jameson as director of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington; and a Survey of the Manuscript Collections in the Library of Congress, made by Dr. C. W. Garrison of the Division of Manuscripts. Vol. II. will be Miss Griffin's annual bibliography of *Writings on American History* which will be made even more attractive by the use of larger type. The *Writings* for 1928 will be ready for distribution during the summer; copy for 1929 has gone to the printer. Vol. III. will be a *Guide for the Study of British Caribbean History, 1763-1833*, prepared and edited by Professor Lowell J. Ragatz. The *Diary of Edward Bates*, Attorney General in the Lincoln cabinet, which Miss Helen Nicolay has kindly placed at the disposal of the Association for publication, will, it is hoped, appear as vol. IV.

Under the auspices of the Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications, of which Professor E. P. Cheyney is chairman, the following works are now in course of publication: *Lords versus Commons: a Study of the Relations between the Two Houses of Parliament from 1832 to 1911*, by Professor Emily Allyn, of Wilson College; *Robert Barnwell Rhett*, by Professor Laura A. White, of the University of Wyoming; *The Origin and Development of the State Cult of Confucius*, by J. K. Shryock; and *Pan Chao, the Foremost Woman Scholar in China*, by Miss Nancy L. Swann, of the Gest Library of McGill University. Professor E. M. Carroll's work on *French Public Opinion and*

*Foreign Affairs, 1874-1914*, has recently been published by the Century Company.

#### PERSONAL

Frank W. Blackmar, professor of sociology in the University of Kansas, died on March 30, at the age of 76. He first was professor of history and sociology, from 1889 to 1899. Among his historical publications were *Spanish Institutions of the Southwest* (1891), *Life of Charles Robinson, the First Governor of Kansas* (1902), and the *History of Human Society* (1926).

George Foot Moore, Orientalist and historian, died in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on May 16, at the age of 79. He was appointed professor of Hebrew at Andover Theological Seminary in 1883. Since 1904 he had served Harvard University as professor of the history of religion. His most considerable work in the historical field was *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era* (1927).

Henry Elliot Malden, honorary secretary of the Royal Historical Society for twenty-seven years, died on March 16, at the age of 81. He took a deep interest in the Surrey Archaeological Society and was vice president of the Surrey Record Society. He edited the *Magna Carta Papers* and the *Cely Papers* for the Royal Historical Society.

John De Villiers, the well-known cartographer of the British Museum, died in London on April 3, at the age of 67. He had served the British government in various boundary disputes, including the Venezuela controversy. More recently he had been engaged upon the Labrador boundary question, which resulted in substantial additions to the territory of Newfoundland. He had been head of the map department of the British Museum since 1909. He was knighted in 1927.

Charles Prestwood Lucas, K.C.M.G., C.B., K.C.B., English historian, died on May 7, at the age of 77. He was long an official of the colonial office and from 1907 to 1911 was in charge of the Dominions Department. His most notable historical work was *A Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, published in seven volumes from 1888 to 1920. Other works were *A History of Canada*, pt. I. (1901), and *The Canadian War of 1812* (1906).

Eugène Hubert, for forty years professor at the University of Liège, died on February 1, at the age of 77. Nearly all his historical works appeared in the *Mémoires* of the Royal Academy of Belgium or in the *Bulletins* of the Royal Historical Commission. The most recent is the first volume of *La Correspondance de Bouteville* (reviewed in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXV. 666). The second volume is soon to be published.

Emil von Ottenthal, the distinguished Austrian medievalist, died on February 5, at the age of 75. He had been professor of Medieval history at Innsbruck and director of the Historical Institute at Vienna.



He also collaborated on the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. His latest work was as joint editor of vol. VIII. of the *Diplomata*.

The American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council continue to facilitate the work of promising scholars by awards of fellowships and by monetary grants. History is only one of the fields in which the Councils are interested. It is the intellectual and cultural elements of human experience that are emphasized by the first, while with the second, the emphasis is on economic, social, and political history. Both fix a limit of age in the case of fellowships. They are given only to scholars with the Ph.D. degree or its equivalent, and of proved capacity for research. The fellowships are ordinarily for a single year, and carry a substantial stipend. The grants are made to more mature as well as younger scholars, who have already made progress with a definite project and require assistance to complete it. Applications are made in December.

The fellowships within the historical field, awarded by the American Council of Learned Societies, with the project upon which the incumbent is engaged, are: James S. Beddie, State Teachers' College, Minot, North Dakota, the catalogues of medieval libraries, to be studied chiefly in Munich; Carleton S. Smith, the Spanish empire of the seventeenth century, continuing previous studies of Austro-Spanish relations; S. Harrison Thomson, California Institute of Technology, work in English, Czech, and Austrian libraries on Wyclif and Robert Grosseteste. The grants-in-aid are: F. W. Buckler, Oberlin College, for study of the Oriental despot in the political theory of the Persian-Muslim world; Laurence M. Larson, University of Illinois, edition and translation of the Gulathing Law and the Frostathing Law; Ernest Lauer, Northwestern University, the social economy of the medieval Rhenish cities; Bertha H. Putnam, Mount Holyoke College, proceedings before justices of the peace, 1327-1485; Eva M. Sanford, Western Reserve University, the influence of Lucan's *Pharsalia* in the Middle Ages; Rachel L. Sargent, Western Reserve University, the social and economic life of ancient Greece.

Two of the fellowships awarded by the Social Science Research Council lie specifically within the historical field: R. C. Downes, University of Pittsburgh, the political origins of new American communities from 1787 to 1860; and H. R. Rudin, Yale University, German imperial policy in the Cameroons. The grants-in-aid are: D. G. Barnes, University of Washington, the relations of George III. and William Pitt the Younger; J. M. Callahan, West Virginia University, American foreign policy in its relations to Canada; M. H. Cochran, University of Missouri, German public opinion on foreign affairs from 1900 to 1914; C. A. M. Ewing, University of Oklahoma, American impeachment trials; F. R. Flournoy, Saint Stephen's College, British policy toward Morocco, 1830-1861; L. C. Hunter, Smith College, an economic and social history of steamboat transportation on the Western rivers of the

United States; Susan M. Kingsbury, Bryn Mawr College, an edition of vol. III., *Records of the Virginia Company of London*; L. K. Koontz, University of California at Los Angeles, the American colonial frontier; R. L. Morton, College of William and Mary, economic and social history of Virginia, 1851-1880; F. L. Owsley, Vanderbilt University, European diplomacy in relation to the Southern Confederacy; F. W. Pitman, Pomona College, economic and social structure of British West Indian society, 1763-1866; W. S. Robertson, University of Illinois, the relations of France with Latin America, 1810-1835; V. M. Scramuzza, Smith College, economic history of Sicily in Ancient Times; R. G. Trotter, Queen's University, background of Canadian federation; N. J. Ware, Wesleyan University, the labor movement in the United States since 1895.

In March the Guggenheim Foundation announced the fellowships and grants for the coming year. Those of interest in the field of history were awarded to the following persons, with the accompanying projects: Walter S. Campbell, University of Oklahoma, for the completion of a biography of Sitting Bull; Herbert Heaton, University of Minnesota, for the collection of material on the industrial revolution in the Yorkshire woolen and worsted industries; Reginald C. McGrane, University of Cincinnati, studies of British investment in the United States from 1830 to 1860.

There are several promotions which may be noted: *University of California*, G. H. Guttridge to be associate professor; *University of Colorado*, E. F. Meyer to be associate professor; *Columbia University*, H. J. Carman, A. P. Evans, and Allan Nevins to be professors, J. A. Krout and G. T. Robinson to be associate professors, E. M. Hunt to be assistant professor; *George Washington University*, L. J. Ragatz to be associate professor; *Goucher College*, Grace H. Beardsley to be assistant professor; *Harvard University*, J. P. Baxter, 3d, W. L. Langer, and E. A. Whitney to be associate professors; *Johns Hopkins University*, F. C. Lane to be associate in history; *Lehigh University*, S. M. Brown to be professor, G. D. Harmon to be associate professor; *University of Michigan*, L. G. Vander Velde to be assistant professor; *University of Nebraska*, J. L. Sellers to be associate professor; *New York University*, Alexander Baltzly and H. S. Commager to be professors; *Northwestern University*, C. L. Grose to be professor; *Rutgers University*, E. McN. Burns to be assistant professor; *Wellesley College*, E. E. Curtis to be professor; *Yale University*, E. R. Goodenough to be associate professor, H. R. Rudin to be assistant professor.

Announcement is made of the following changes in university connection: *Allegheny College*, P. H. Giddens, of Oregon State College, to be assistant professor; *University of Arkansas*, K. C. Warner, of the Brookings Institution, to be assistant professor; *Brown University*, J. B. Hedges, of Clark University, to be professor; *Columbia University*, Carter Goodrich, of the University of Michigan, to be professor; *Johns Hopkins*

*University*, Sidney Painter, of Yale University, to be associate in history; *St. Lawrence University*, A. E. Hutcheson, of the University of Pennsylvania, to be assistant professor; *University of South Carolina*, R. H. Wienefeld, of Converse College, to be associate professor; *Stanford University*, T. A. Bailey, of the University of Hawaii, to be assistant professor; *University of Vermont*, H. L. Briggs, of Coker College, and H. E. Putnam, of the Ithaca Conservatory of Music and Allied Schools, to be assistant professors; *Western Reserve University*, Alexander Blair, of Ohio State University, to be assistant professor; *University of Wisconsin*, R. L. Reynolds, of the University of Nebraska, to be assistant professor.

Leaves of absence for the academic year, 1931-1932, have been granted as follows: *Brown University*, J. B. Botsford for the first half, R. H. George for the second; *University of California*, G. H. Guttridge for the first half; *University of Colorado*, J. F. Willard for the year; *Duke University*, E. M. Carroll for the year; *Hamilton College*, E. B. Graves for the second half; *University of Illinois*, W. S. Robertson for the year; *University of Michigan*, A. E. R. Boak for the year, A. Hyma for the first half, A. S. Aiton for the second; *University of North Dakota*, D. H. Nicholson for the year; *University of Pennsylvania*, St. G. L. Sioussat for the first half; *Princeton University*, R. J. Sontag for the year; *University of Rochester*, W. H. Coates for the first half, A. J. May for the second; *Williams College*, A. H. Buffington for the year; *Yale University*, H. R. Rudin for the year.

Additional announcements of visiting professors at summer sessions: *University of Arkansas*, Joseph D. Doty; *Pennsylvania State College*, Robert Fortenbaugh, H. A. Hubbard, W. L. Slifer, A. T. Volwiler; *Stanford University*, George Vernadsky; *West Virginia University*, M. L. Bonham, jr., Carl Wittke.

George Vernadsky, of Yale University, and J. D. Hicks, of the University of Nebraska, will be visiting professors in Harvard University during the next year.

Professor G. H. Blakeslee, of Clark University, will be at Wesleyan University as visiting professor once each week during the coming academic year, and will give a course in international relations.

Professor Dexter Perkins, of the University of Rochester, will deliver the Albert Shaw lectures at the Johns Hopkins University in 1931-1932.

Professor Avery O. Craven, of the University of Chicago, is to be a visiting scholar at the Huntington Library for the year from October 1, 1931, to October 1, 1932.

At the close of this academic year Professor Charles M. Andrews retires from the Farnam Professorship at Yale University and is to become Director of Historical Publications at Yale. To mark the event and in tribute to his forty-two years of teaching at Bryn Mawr, Johns



Hopkins, and Yale, his students, past and present, from these three institutions joined in presenting to him a volume of essays in colonial history written by twelve of their number. The presentation took place at a reception given in his honor by the Department of History of Yale at the Faculty Club in New Haven on Saturday, May 23. Professor Charles Seymour, Provost of Yale and a former student of Professor Andrews, made the presentation.

The volume is limited to essays on the single subject of colonial history but contains an introduction by Professor Nellie Neilson, of Mount Holyoke College, as the representative of those of his students whose own researches do not lie in colonial history. The preface is by Dr. J. Franklin Jameson as a fitting representative of the body of historical scholars at large. The publication of the book, by the Yale University Press, was made possible largely through the gifts of Professor Andrews's students, one hundred and fourteen of whom contributed to the undertaking.

Dr. Tyler Dennett, historical adviser to the Department of State and chief of the division of publications, has resigned his position to accept a chair of international relations in the School of Public and International Affairs of Princeton University. His successor in the Department of State is Dr. David Hunter Miller.

Dr. Solon J. Buck, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, and professor of American history in the University of Minnesota, has been appointed director of the Historical Survey for Western Pennsylvania, and professor of history in the University of Pittsburgh. Dr. Buck will take up his work on September 1. The Buhl Foundation of Pittsburgh and the University of Pittsburgh have provided for the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, a liberal budget for the purpose of collecting, compiling, and editing a series of studies covering the history of Pittsburgh and western Pennsylvania. The plan provides for a five-year program of joint historical research and writing. Dr. Buck will have a staff of five research assistants, all of whom will hold university appointments.

The Pulitzer Prize for history has been awarded to Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt for his two volumes on *The Coming of the War*. The prize for biography was awarded to Henry James for his work on *Charles W. Eliot*. Professor Schmitt's work is the subject of a critical article by Count Max Montgelas in the *Berliner Monatshefte* for May. Under the title of *Les Historiens Américains et les Responsabilités de la Guerre*, M. Pierre Renouvin institutes in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for April 15 a comparison between what he terms the two theses of Professor Fay and Professor Schmitt.

The Oberly Memorial Prize this year has been awarded to Everett E. Edwards, an economist in the United States Department of Agriculture, for his publication entitled *A Bibliography of the History of Agricul-*

ture in the United States. This prize is awarded biennially in honor of Eunice Rockwood Oberly, Federal Bureau of Plant Industry librarian, who died on November 21, 1921.

Professor Carl Wittke, of Ohio State University, has been lecturing on American history during the spring months at the universities of Berlin, Breslau, Munich, Göttingen, Freiburg, and Cologne.

Professor M. L. W. Laistner has in press (Methuen) a book on *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500-900*.

Sir Frederick Kenyon, after twenty-one years' service as director of the British Museum, retired at the close of 1930. His successor is Dr. G. F. Hill, keeper of coins and medals since 1913.

#### GENERAL

General reviews: Albert Dufourcq, *Chronique d'Histoire Religieuse* (Rev. des Quest. Hist., Jan.<sup>1</sup>); V. Porri, *La Storia Economica Europea: Età Medioevale e Moderna* [1919-1929] (Riv. Stor. Ital., Jan.); H. Zatschek, *Bericht über die Neuerscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der Urkundenlehre, 1928-1929* (Mitteil. des Oesterreich. Inst. für Geschichtsf., XLIV. 4).

The February *Bulletin* of the International Committee of Historical Sciences (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France) is devoted to two inquiries, Historical Geography and Historical Iconography. The first shows what is being done in various countries in cartography, while the second reports upon the scope of many Continental collections of illustrative material. The report for France contains essays on L'Iconographie Bordelaise, by Michel Lhéritier, and on L'Iconographie de Montesquieu, by Eugène Bouvy.

The Naval War College has issued a volume on *International Law Situations, with Solutions and Notes* (Washington, Government Printing Office, pp. 163, 75 cents), embodying discussions conducted in 1929 under the auspices of the college by Professor George G. Wilson. He drew up the notes published in the volume.

The Dartmouth College library has recently acquired two collections of pamphlets of considerable interest. One, consisting of about 900 items, relates to the presidential elections from 1868 to 1900, inclusive. The other consists of about one hundred pamphlets which were once the property of John C. Calhoun. Apparently they came to him, chiefly from the authors, while he was Secretary of War in the cabinet of President Monroe. Most of them belong to the 1820's.

Columbia University has just received from the Japanese Culture Center of America a collection of about 10,000 Japanese books which will become the nucleus of a much larger collection of books, manu-

<sup>1</sup> The reviews referred to in this section belong to the months from July, 1930, to May, 1931.

scripts, and other cultural materials being donated to the university to aid in the development of an Institute of Japanese Studies. Included in the collection are 600 rare books, histories, early encyclopedias, and anthologies presented by the Imperial Household. There are also many works on Korean history. Baron Mitsui has contributed a large number of volumes in European languages on all phases of Japanese history and culture. The Japanese Culture Center of America was organized in Tokyo three years ago to create and foster an interest in Japanese culture among the American people and to promote friendly intellectual relations between the United States and Japan. Baron Iwasaki is the chairman of the Culture Center group in Japan, and Mr. Jerome D. Greene is chairman of the Center in America. A Columbia committee for the Institute of Japanese Studies has been organized with Dr. Charles C. Williamson, director of libraries, as chairman, and Professor Evarts B. Greene, of the department of history, as one of the members.

The library of Columbia University has also acquired the private library of the late Professor A. Presniakov, of the University of Leningrad, consisting of about 3600 books and 2200 numbers of periodicals. This important addition gives the library one of the two or three richest collections in the United States in the field of Russian history. It will be recalled that Professor Presniakov contributed to the *American Historical Review* for January, 1923 (XXVIII. 248-257), an important article on the subject of Historical Research in Russia during the Revolutionary Crisis. His major works lay in the field of the earlier Russian history. His monographs, *The Princes' Law of Ancient Russia* (1909) and *The Formation of the Great Russian State* (1918), were immediately recognized by specialists as outstanding contributions to Russian historical scholarship. From other sources the university library has recently acquired the *Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire* (1649-1913), the collected laws and decisions of the Soviet government, and what is said to be the only complete set in the United States of the publications of the Imperial Society of Lovers of Early Russian Texts.

Dr. Jac Nachbin, of Pernambuco, Brazil, has been spending the year at Northwestern University, Evanston, where he has been engaged upon the making of a calendar of the South American manuscripts, acquired for the university library in 1914. These manuscripts, which are for the most part originals, total about 30,000 folio pages and are bound up in fifty-two volumes. They range in date from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century and relate chiefly to Bolivia and Peru. They touch on matters of state and church, the native Indians, the Catholic missions, social and economic questions. Some will shed new light on the history of Bolivia. Many relate to the activities of the leaders in the revolutions in South America, Bolívar among others. It is hoped that some of the more important manuscripts may be published by the university.

The private library of Professor Rasmus B. Anderson, scholar, editor, and diplomat, has been transferred as a gift to the State Historical



Society of Wisconsin, of which Professor Anderson is the oldest living curator. The book collection, especially rich in works on Scandinavian literature and history, numbers between three and four thousand volumes. In addition, there is a collection of manuscripts, mostly letters, estimated at 25,000 items. Many of these are personal historical narratives, collected from a wide circle of correspondents among pioneer Scandinavian immigrants running back to the *Sloop* party which came to America in 1825. The list of Dr. Anderson's correspondents includes many distinguished scholars and authors of America, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark.

Vol. II. of *Spain and Spanish America in the Libraries of the University of California: a Catalogue of Books* (Berkeley, University of California, 1930, pp. 839) is the sequel of vol. I., which in 1928 dealt with the collection in the university library. The expense is in part borne by a generous citizen of San Francisco, Mr. Juan C. Cebrián, who desired to make more evident the contribution of Spain and her daughter states to the knowledge and culture of the world. The work has been done under the direction of the librarian, Dr. Herbert I. Priestley, with the assistance of Miss Eleanor Ashby. The catalogue includes only what its title suggests. It is an author list, supplemented by an analytical index of 147 pages. The accessions go to the year 1927. The collection listed here is of a breadth and richness truly impressive.

*A Union List of Manuscripts in Libraries of the Pacific Northwest*, compiled by Charles W. Smith, chairman of the committee on bibliography of the Pacific Northwest Library Association, has been issued by the University of Washington Press. Copies may be had of the treasurer of the association, Miss Ora L. Maxwell, Public Library, Spokane; price \$1.00.

In the *Historical Outlook* for March is an account by Dr. J. A. Krout of the way in which the well-known *Pageant of America*, of the Yale University Press, was carried to success. Professor Bessie L. Pierce in the April number describes the Meeting of the National Council for Social Studies at Detroit, and Professor P. H. Clyde in the May number discusses the Open-Door Policy of John Hay.

In the *Catholic Historical Review* for April are printed three of the papers presented at the Boston meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association. Mr. William H. J. Kennedy's essay on Catholics in Massachusetts before 1750 was an appropriate addition to the literature of the Tercentenary Year. Of special interest was the paper by James F. Kenney on Early Irish Church History as a Field for Research by American Students. Mr. Louis O'Brien dealt with the Huguenot Policy of Louis XIV. and Pope Innocent XI. along the line of a recent book which he has published.

The *Journal of Economic and Business History* for May contains an extended account by Ralph M. Hower of the joint conference of the

American Historical Association and the Business Historical Society on the scope and the aims of business history. The other articles in this number range from Ancient Athenian Mining, by George M. Calhoun (summarized elsewhere), and Genoese Trade in the Late Twelfth Century, by Robert L. Reynolds, to a Typical Virginia Business Man of the Revolutionary Era, by Susie M. Ames, and Business and the Sherman Law, by C. F. Taeusch. It may be remarked that the Virginia business man was Nathaniel Littleton Savage, who lived in Savage's Neck on that Eastern Shore of Virginia so often forgotten by persons not familiar with the waters of the lower Chesapeake Bay.

In the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for March appears the first installment of Victor Hugo Paltsits's edition of a Narrative of American Voyages and Travels of Captain William Owen, R. N., and of the Settlement of the Island of Campobello in the Bay of Fundy, 1766-1771. The same number brings to a conclusion the annotated List of Plays dealing with Biblical Themes, compiled by Edward D. Coleman.

In the *Revue de Synthèse Historique* for December, M. Henri Berr, apropos of the thirtieth anniversary of that journal, publishes the first part of a review (*Au Bout de Trente Ans*) of what has been done to develop a broader and more scientific conception of the task of the historian. Incidentally, he describes the work in this direction accomplished by Professors Robinson, Teggart, Shotwell, and Barnes.

In the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1930, Heft IV., E. Maschke, using unpublished archives, studies the policy of Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa when papal legate to Germany in dealing with the Teutonic Order's complicated relations to the Roman Curia and the Empire. To this number also Gustav Krüger contributes a comprehensive survey of the recent literature concerning Augustine occasioned by the commemoration of his death 1500 years ago.

A new work on historical methodology has been written by Erich Keyser, entitled *Die Geschichtswissenschaft, Aufbau und Aufgaben* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1931, pp. iv, 243).

On April 3 and 4, a conference on the teaching of undergraduate courses in the social sciences was held at Northwestern University. There were two general sessions, the first devoted to the problem of the freshman course, the second to the relation between teaching and research in the undergraduate college. One of the five round table conferences dealt with history, the topic being "special work for superior students".

*Venice*, by Cecil Roth (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1930, pp. x, 380, \$2.25), belongs to the Jewish Communities series. The date appears to be unknown when Jews were first permitted to live in Venice, a city for centuries hostile to their presence. The author believes, however, that by the middle of the twelfth century over

a thousand were dwelling there. One of his chapters describes the Ghetto and its Institutions. The narrative closes with the fall of the republic, although a brief epilogue deals with succeeding events.

Articles: R. H. Grützmacher, *Spengler und Nietzsche* (Preuss. Jahrb., Apr.); Benedetto Croce, *Antihistorismus* [paper read at international philosophical congress in Oxford, Sept. 3, 1930, translated by Karl Vossler; present day "futurism" in literature, art, etc., regarded as symptomatic of a decline of the historical sense, a break with continuity in the intellectual, moral, and political life of all Europe] (Hist. Zeitsch., CXLIII. 3).

#### ANCIENT HISTORY

Reports of recent excavations tell of a number of finds of historical interest. In the *American Journal of Archaeology*, March, A. W. V. B. describes the finds at Sarsina in Umbria; E. P. B. reviews recent discoveries in Greece; and C. C. McCown, the results of numerous and extensive excavations recently carried on in Palestine. At these various sites materials of interest have been found, dating from prehistoric to medieval times. The prospect of further good results from the older sites and from the new expeditions to Samaria, Sepphoris, and Beth Zur, is excellent. In the *Revue Biblique*, April, F. M. Abel describes an archæological exploration east of the valley of the Jordan. In the *Illustrated London News* of Feb. 14 appear finds from Thermi in Lesbos where stratification and objects are similar to those of Troy under the domination of which it came; Feb. 21, objects from the toilet of a young lady of the 4th dynasty, and from the Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii, a tinted statue of Livia; Apr. 25, a terra cotta bust dating about 1900 B.C. of a seated god from the residential quarter of Ur; May 2, objects of early Greek art from the Heraeum near Corinth, also an account of an archæological reconnaissance in the Kharga oasis in Egypt.

The inscription from Palestine in the Fröhner collection, published by Cumont, *Revue Historique* (CLXIII. 241-266), which contains an imperial rescript on the subject of violations of sepulture has evoked numerous articles. Of these may be given special mention that of Cuq, *Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger* (1930, pp. 384-410); of Carcopino, *Revue Historique* for January; and Brown, *American Journal of Philology*, March. Although Fröhner's records indicate that the inscription came from Nazareth in Galilee, Carcopino believes that it came from the procuratorial province of Judea, and is to be connected with a passage of Josephus (*Antiquities*, 18, 29-30), telling how Samaritans threw dead men's bones into the temple. Brown suggests that it is an ordinance of Hadrian in the years immediately following the Jewish revolt of 131 A.D., and was designed to meet special conditions in Palestine.

An article important to students of ancient economic history is G. M. Calhoun's Ancient Athenian Mining in the *Journal of Economic and*



*Business History* for May. The author reviews the history of the development of the mines at Laurium, upon which so much of the prosperity of Athens depended. He shows that while the land was privately owned the mineral rights belonged to the state, a situation which dates from the time of Peisistratus. Rights of mining were leased to private persons under a system of inspection, and the mines were efficiently worked in spite of the use of slave labor. One may note also in *Aegyptus*, April, A. Segrè's Note sui Formulari della Compravendita in Diritto Greco e Romano.

In *Klio* (as a Beiheft, 1931) appears the first section of Franz Leifer's *Studien zum Antiken Aemterwesen*, entitled *Zur Vorgeschichte des Römischen Führeramts*. In the *Classical Quarterly*, April, H. T. Wade-Gery continues his Eupatridai, Archons, and Areopagus. In *Philologus*, February, E. Kornemann, *Zum Staatsrecht des Polybios*, discusses an assumed recension of Polybios, book VI., under the influence of Panaetius and Stoicism, by the author himself about ten years after the original writing. Bursian's *Jahresbericht* (231) reports the literature of 1918-1928 on Florus, Gellius, and Justinus.

F. Maurice's article, *The Size of the Army of Xerxes in the Invasion of Greece, 480 B.C.*, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1930, 2), is a fresh and interesting study of a much discussed subject. It is written from the point of view of the practical military exigencies of transport and of water supply, and is based on a study of the route from the Troad into Macedonia such as has been possible only since the war.

Articles: F. Abel, *Gaza au VI<sup>e</sup> Siècle d'après le Rhéteur Chorikios* (Rev. Biblique, Jan.); V. G. Childe, *New Views on the Relation of the Aegean and the North Balkans* (Jour. of Hellen. Studies, 1930, 2); R. Weill, *Les Achéens d'Asie Mineure et les Problèmes de l'Arrivée Achéenne sur la Méditerranée au II<sup>e</sup> Millénaire* (Jour. Asiatique, 216, 1); J. G. Milne, *The Monetary Reforms of Solon* (Jour. of Hellen. Studies, 1930, 2); G. de Sanctis, *Aristagora di Mileto* (Riv. di Filol., Mar.); W. Schwahn, *Diyllus* (Philologus, Feb.); F. Geyer, *Das Bosphoranische Reich auf der Krim in seiner Bedeutung für die Griechische Wirtschaft und Kultur* (N. Jahrb., VI. 8); M. Rostovtzeff, *Trois Inscriptions d'Époque Hellénistique de Théangéla en Carie* (Rev. des Études Anc., Mar.); M. Holleaux, *Notes sur Tite-Live* (Rev. de Philol., Jan.); J. E. Dunlap, *The Place of the Final Defeat of the Helvetians* (Class. Philol., Apr.); P. Fabre, *Lentulus, César, et l'Aerarium* (Rev. des Études Anc., Mar.); J. Gagé, *La Victoria Augusti et les Auspices de Tibère* (Rev. Archéol., Oct.); P. de Labriolle, *La Polémique Antichrétienne de l'Empereur Julien* (Rev. des Quest. Hist., Oct.). T. R. S. B.

#### MEDIEVAL HISTORY

General reviews: Marc Bloch, *Féodalité, Vassalité, Seigneurie, à propos de Quelques Travaux Récents* (An. d'Hist. Éc. et Soc., Apr. 15);

Hans Leube, *Alte und Mittelalterliche Kirchengeschichte* (Arch. für Kulturg., Bd. XXI., Heft 2); E. Rosenstock, *Ueber "Reich", "Staat", und "Stadt" in Deutschland von 1230-1235: Bemerkungen zu Emil Franzel, König Heinrich VII. von Hohenstaufen* [Studien zur Geschichte des Staates in Deutschland] (Mitteil. des Oesterreich. Inst. für Geschichtsf., Bd. XLIV., Heft 4); *L'Archéologie Chrétienne à Rome en 1929* (Moyen Age, July-Dec.).

The publication of the revised edition of Professor Louis John Paetow's *Guide to the Study of Medieval History* (New York, F. S. Crofts, 1931, pp. xvii, 643, \$6.00) will be received with satisfaction not only by medievalists but also by all those interested in the perfection of the tools of historical scholarship. The work was done under the auspices of the Mediaeval Academy of America and by a committee of which Professor Dana C. Munro has been chairman. Closely associated with him has been Dr. Gray C. Boyce. Besides the editorial committee of seven there were forty-five contributing editors. The publishers have put the work in a volume which is a pleasure to both eye and hand. It will be reviewed in a later issue of this journal. [Ed.]

The articles in *Speculum* for April which will especially interest historical students are: The 'English Company' of 1343, "one of the earliest syndicates of English merchants", by George Sayles; Cassiodore et son Œuvre, by A. van de Vyver; Contemporaneous Matters in Geoffrey of Monmouth, by J. S. P. Tatlock, with an excellent bibliographical note on the early medieval accounts of Islam; and S. H. Cross's note on King Alfred's North.

Among the books reviewed in this number are the *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. VI., J. F. Kenney's *Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, and A. A. Vasiliev's *History of the Byzantine Empire*.

Vol. VI. of *Byzantion*, presented to Sir W. M. Ramsay, contains a sketch of his work and interests, drawn mainly from his letters. When he contested for the "studentship" which was to determine his life work his most formidable rival was Oscar Wilde! The contents include an article by Sir William, on Phrygian Orthodox and Heretics; Das Steuersystem im Byzantinischen Altertum und Mittelalter, by G. Ostrogorsky; two articles on the battle of Kossovo; Études sur le Théâtre Byzantin, by A. Vogt; and a most interesting discussion of Le Tombeau et la Date de Digénis Akritas, by H. Grégoire, who fixes the date at c. 940 and identifies the tomb associated with the hero. There is also a short appreciation of the Third Congress of Byzantinists, and about thirty other articles.

In connection with the fifteenth centenary of the death of St. Augustine, the Görresgesellschaft has issued a splendid commemorative volume, edited by M. Grabmann and J. Mausbach (Cologne, Bachem, 1930, pp. 438). Under the title *Aurelius Augustinus*, it unites a score of articles, chiefly on different phases of his teaching.

The student of monasticism will find rich store of material in the *Répertoire des Sources Imprimées et Manuscrites relatives à l'Histoire et à la Liturgie de l'Ordre de Prémontré*, by Raphaël van Waefelghem (Brussels, Dewit, 1930, pp. xv, 382).

A handsome little volume, with the atmosphere of the Middle Ages about it, is the *Treatise on the Power and Utility of Moneys*, by Master Gabriel Biel, which is a translation by Robert Belle Burke of *De Potestate et Utilitate Monetarum*. The University of Pennsylvania is the publisher (1930, pp. 39, \$2.50). Biel was a professor at the University of Tübingen and was one of the Brethren of the Common Life. He died in 1495. His little treatise appears to be the second work of importance in the history of money, its predecessor being the *De Origine, Natura, Jure, et Mutationibus Monetarum*, of Nicholas Oresme, bishop of Lisieux.

Among the reviews of interest in the medieval field are: René Macaigne, *L'Église Mérovingienne et l'État Pontifical*, reviewed by Léon Levillain (Moyen Age, July-Dec.); A. Fliche, *La Chrétienté Médiévale, 395-1254*, by L. Saltet (Rev. d'Hist. de l'Église de France, Oct.); J. F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, by J. Loth (Moyen Age, July-Dec.); Helen M. Cam, *The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls: an Outline of Local Government in Medieval England*, by C. Johnson (Eng. Hist. Rev., Apr.); *Aegidius Romanus de Ecclesiastica Potestate*, edited by Richard Scholz, reviewed by C. W. Previtte-Orton (*ibid.*).

The *Histoire de l'Europe au Moyen-Age, 1270-1493*, by Charles Bémont and Roger Doucet (Paris, Alcan, 1931, pp. 495, 40 fr.), is a continuation of the well-known Bémont-Monod text for the earlier Middle Ages. With the exception of book V., on England, which Professor Bémont has written, Professor Doucet, of the University of Lyons, is the author. Although political and military history receive proper emphasis, adequate attention is given to the economic and intellectual life of the period.

Articles: J. Spörl, *Das Alte und das Neue im Mittelalter* [cont'd from previous issue] (Hist. Jahrb., Bd. L., Heft 4); A. Dumas, *Le Serment de Fidélité et la Conception du Pouvoir du I<sup>er</sup> au IX<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Rev. Hist. de Droit Fr. et Étranger, Jan.); Karl Hampe, *Der Kulturwandel um die Mitte des Zwölften Jahrhunderts* (Arch. für Kulturg., Bd. XXI., Heft 2); G. Le Bras, *Alger de Liège et Gratien* (Rev. d'Hist. Ecclés., Feb.); A. Landgraf, *Zur Chronologie der Werke Stephen Langtons* (Recherches de Théol. Anc. et Méd., Jan.); Léon Veuthey, *Alexandre d'Alexandrie, Maître de l'Université de Paris, 1270-1314* (Études Francis., Mar.); Willibrordus Lampen, O.F.M., *De Fratibus Minoribus in Universitate Coloniensi tempore Medii Aevi* (Arch. Francis. Hist., Oct.); R. Grieser, *Das Aelteste Register der Hochmeisterkanzlei des Deutschen Ordens* (Mitteil. des Oesterreich. Inst. für Geschichtsf., Bd. XLIV., Heft 4); R. Piattoli, *I Ghibellini nel Comune di Prato dalla Battaglia di Benevento alla Pace del Cardinale Latino* (Arch. Stor. Ital., Jan.); W. Bombe,



*Il Palagio dell'Arte della Lana in Firenze* (ibid.); A. Panella, *Per la Biografia del Cronista Marchionne* (ibid.); J. Huizinga, *L'État Bourguignon, ses Rapports avec la France et les Origines d'une Nationalité Néerlandaise* (Moyen Age, July). D. C. M., G. C. B.

#### MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

General reviews: Gaston Zeller, *Politique Extérieure et Diplomatie sous Louis XIV.* (Rev. d'Hist. Mod., Mar.); Alburey Castell, *Histories of European Thought, 1918-1930* (Jour. of Mod. Hist., June); Alexander L. P. Johnson, *Military Histories of the Great War* (ibid.).

In the *Journal of Modern History* for June the articles are: The Elizabethan Middle-Class Taste for History, by Louis B. Wright; New Light on Lord Castlereagh's Diplomacy, by William H. Robson; and New Light on the Origins of the Crimean War, by Vernon J. Puryear. The document is Home's Confidential Memorandum concerning Cyprus, contributed by Dwight E. Lee.

The recollections of the Saxon general, Ferdinand von Funck, edited by A. Brabant under the title *In Russland und in Sachsen, 1812-1815* (Dresden, Heinrich, 1930, pp. 378), describe the last days of the Napoleonic Empire from a somewhat novel point of view, that of one of the vassal states.

An article in the March number of the *Revue Historique* has a pathetic interest. It was a lecture on L'Union Économique du Continent Européen sous Napoléon, delivered by the eminent Russian historian E. Tarlé at the Sorbonne on November 30, 1929. Upon his return to Russia M. Tarlé was arrested by the Soviet government. Since that time, with certain other Russian historians, including M. Platonov, he has been held in prison.

The *Revue d'Histoire Moderne* for March-April has begun the publication of a series of articles on the Revolution of 1830. G. Gallavresi discusses the participation of the Italians in the struggle; Pierre Paul Viard, the juridical aspects of the upheaval; while H. Prentout and Henry Contamine describe events in Caen and Metz. These papers were originally presented at the "Journées Historiques" organized last fall by the Comité Français des Sciences Historiques.

A dissertation by Horst Michael, one of the students of Erich Marcks, entitled *Bismarck, England, und Europa, vorwiegend von 1866-1870: eine Studie zur Geschichte Bismarcks und der Reichsgründung* (Munich, Verlag d. Münchener Drucke, 1930), is of value as emphasizing the importance of England and of the Eastern question for the policy of Bismarck before the founding of the empire. It shows that his foreign policy in that period was much more complicated than has been supposed and that, contrary to previous belief, there was fundamental continuity in that policy before and after 1870, notably in handling the Eastern question.

Two interpretations exist concerning Salisbury's Turkish policy. Both are based on his supposed purpose to bring about a partition of the Ottoman Empire; one views his motive as a well conceived plan to demarcate the Austrian and Russian spheres of influence, removing a ground of Russian antagonism to Germany and hence a reason for the Franco-Russian alliance; the other conceives his purpose in the diametrically opposite sense as a desire to stir up fresh strife on the Continent. Hugo Preller's *Salisbury und die Türkische Frage im Jahre 1895* [Beiträge zur Geschichte der Nachbismarckischen Zeit und des Weltkrieges, Heft 9] (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1930) advances a third theory: that Salisbury did not intend to take the initiative toward a Turkish partition, that he was concerned with the question merely as an inheritance from the preceding Liberal ministry, and because of the internal political necessity of placating British public opinion and keeping his cabinet in power.

Vol. XIX. of the Collezione Italiana di Diari, Memorie, Studi, e Documenti per servire alla Storia della Guerra del Mondo, edited by Angelo Gatti, is given over to Marshal Enrico Caviglia's account of *La Battaglia della Bainsizza seguita da uno Studio sulla Direzione Politica e il Comando Militare nella Grande Guerra* (Milan, Mondadori, 1930, pp. 269).

Frigate-captain A. Laurens has for the last ten years been a specialist in the history of German submarine warfare. Authority, therefore, attaches to his admirably documented *Histoire de la Guerre Sous-marine Allemande, 1914-1918* (Paris, Société d'Éditions Géographiques, Maritimes, et Coloniales, 1930, pp. 461).

*Mes Hommes au Feu: avec la Division de Fer à Morhange, sur l'Yser, en Artois, 1914-1915*, by Commandant J. Delmas (Paris, Payot, 1931, pp. 238, 20 fr.), is made up of the journal, recorded day by day, of the author, who began his service on the Lorraine front as a subordinate officer in the 79th regiment. Since the entries are printed without change the reader gains a remarkably clear impression of the experiences of the fighting soldier in three great episodes of the war. According to one entry the author seemed to conclude that the day of the infantry rifle and the bayonet had gone and that artillery dominated the struggle, but there is a later entry which shows that after a line is broken the bayonet has a grim part in the confused *mêlée*.

The rather unsavory story of Allied dealings with neutral Greece during the World War is again told, with further details, by Sir Basil Thomson, who was director of "Intelligence" from 1919 to 1921. The title of his volume is *The Allied Secret Service in Greece* (London, Hutchinson, pp. 228, 21 s.).

Mr. John O. Crane, for four years private secretary to President Masaryk, has examined the relations of Czechoslovakia, Roumania, and Jugoslavia with their neighbors in a book appearing under the title of

*The Little Entente* (New York, Macmillan, 1931, pp. xii, 221, \$2.50). During his long residence in Central Europe he has had unusual opportunities of discussing the problems of these Danubian states with their leaders. His purpose is to be fair, but the direction of his sympathies is evident. In this volume, dated in 1931, the chapter on the *Anschluss* illustrates how rapidly the whole scene may change, for there is not a hint of the customs union scheme which startled the world a few weeks ago.

*Die Neue Türkei: Politische Entwicklung, 1914-1929*, by Kurt Ziemke (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1930, pp. 550), is the work of a jurist, thoroughly familiär with his subject, who presents on the basis of a rich body of source material an excellent portrayal of Turkey's post-war evolution.

Too often personages seem in the pages of history barely more than labels affixed to events or opinions. This may be the reason why many turn with relief to biography or to those analyses of character or career for which Mr. Gamaliel Bradford has become so notable. His most recent collection of such essays is called *The Quick and the Dead* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, pp. xi, 282, \$3.50). They describe seven men, four living—Edison, Ford, Mussolini, and Coolidge—three dead—Roosevelt, Wilson, and Lenin. The fact that the volume opens with Roosevelt and closes with Coolidge may appear to some an anticlimax, but not after they have read the essays. Mr. Coolidge's conviction that it was "imperative to give administration a chance to catch up with legislation" is accompanied by Mr. Bradford's remark that failure in administration is "responsible for the growing distrust of democracy everywhere", making "Parliamentarism a laughing-stock", and offering opportunities to the Lenins and Mussolinis. Mr. Bradford adds: "In view of these things, perhaps, as time goes on, the teachings of Calvin Coolidge may not prove so futile after all."

A new monthly review appeared in March under the auspices of the Recueil Sirey, bearing the title *Affaires Étrangères*. It deals with matters of current interest in the international and diplomatic fields. Besides articles, it contains documents, book reviews, diplomatic news, etc. The editor for political questions is Albert Mousset, for juridical questions, Jean Ray (office, 286, Boulevard Saint-Germain, Paris; annual subscription for countries in the Postal Union, 125 fr., for other foreign countries, 150 fr.). The two leading articles in the March number are *L'Acte Général d'Arbitrage*, by René Cassin, and *La Crise Agraire dans l'Europe Centrale*, by Jean Morini-Comby.

Articles: Henri Fréville, *Richard Simon et les Protestants d'après sa Correspondance* (Rev. d'Hist. Mod., Jan.); Joseph Koulischer, *Les Traités de Commerce et la Clause de la Nation la plus Favorisée du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (*ibid.*); Gustav Krüger, *Die Eudämonisten: ein Beitrag zur Publizistik des Ausgehenden 18. Jahrhunderts* [study of the hitherto



unknown editors of *Eudämonia*, an anti-revolutionary journal, published in turn at Leipzig, Frankfort-on-Main, and Nuremberg, 1795-1798] (Hist. Zeitsch., CXLIII. 3); Louis Madelin, *Vers le Consulat à Vie*, I.-III. [to be continued] (Rev. des D. M., Mar. 1, 15, Apr. 1); Jean Cordey, ed., *Lettres de Louis-Philippe à Casimir-Périer, 1830-1832* (*ibid.*, Mar. 15); Wilhelm Froehner, *Souvenirs de la Cour Impériale* [German archæologist in French service, 1863-1870] (*ibid.*, Apr. 1); J. Dontenville, *Les Rapports de la France avec la Russie sous Napoléon III.* [unfriendly attitude of Russia in 1870 not due to Crimean War, but to France's failure to second Russia's policy of revising the Treaty of Paris, lest England take offense] (N. Rev., Mar. 15); Maximilian Claar, *Tommaso Tittoni, 1855-1931, und die Dreibundpolitik Italiens* (Berl. Monatshft., May); *Die Russischen Dokumente über die Algeciraskonferenz* [translations] (*ibid.*, Mar., Apr., May); Pierre Renouvin, *La Publication des Documents Diplomatiques Français, 1871-1914* (Rev. Hist., Mar.); Ludwig Bittner, *Oesterreich-Ungarn und Serbien* [Austria justified from the standpoint of international law in her attitude toward Serbia in 1914] (Hist. Zeitsch., CXLIV. 1); Jules Isaac, *De la Valeur des Témoignages de Guerre* [discussion of Cru's *Témoins*] (Rev. Hist., Jan.); Général Mordacq, *La Signature de la Paix avec l'Allemagne* [personal recollections] (Rev. de Paris, May 1); O. Gorni, *Les Réformes Foncières en Europe Orientale et Centrale, leurs Causes Économiques et Sociales* (An. d'Hist. Éc. et Soc., Apr. 15).

#### GREAT BRITAIN

From the Layard papers and memoirs, now available in the British Museum, Professor Harold Temperley is able to define, in the *English Historical Review* for April, the exact relation of Disraeli to the occupation of Cyprus in 1878; in other words, the filiation of the idea. Apparently Layard felt that the acquisition of Mohammerah would have conferred greater advantages. Professor Temperley remarks: "It could easily have been fortified, would have awakened no foreign jealousies, and given us a very strong position later in relation to the Berlin-Baghdad Railway." Another article, by Miss B. J. H. Rowe, deals with Discipline in the Norman Garrisons under Bedford, 1422-1435. Bedford, like Wellington in 1815-1818, seems to have made strenuous efforts to protect the civilian population. In these days of senatorial investigations of elections, Professor J. E. Neale's story of Three Elizabethan Elections gains a reflected interest. At that time it was the Star Chamber that took evidence of fraud or violence. The testimony, which was voluminous, is, Professor Neale remarks, "permeated with exaggeration and every degree of lying", characteristics which were not monopolized by the Elizabethan period.

*History* for January opens with an article on the Place of the King's Household in English Constitutional History, to 1272, by Anthony Steel. It is inspired by the work of the late Professor Tout, *Chapters in the*

*Administrative History of Mediaeval England*, and seeks to sketch the early history of the chamber and the wardrobe, exhibiting their relation to the chancery and exchequer. In the same number, H. L. Beales deals with the conditions and tendencies of thought which led to the New Poor Law of 1834. Sir Richard Lodge reviews four books on English foreign policy, 1660-1715, including those by Sir George Trevelyan and his daughter. There is also an account of Robert Dunlop, the historian of modern Ireland, who died last October. It is written by Sir Charles Firth. The Historical Revision is by J. W. Gough, and the subject is The Agreements of the People, 1647-1649.

A Norfolk Record Society has been founded and has brought out in its first volume a calendar of deeds, etc., of Holt hundred, from the Frere MSS., a muster roll for the hundred of North Greenhoe (c. 1523), and Norwich Subscriptions to the Voluntary Gift of 1662. The trade connections of Norwich and the county with the Low Countries make the preservation of its manuscript materials of importance to general history. The Puritans of Norfolk were actively concerned in the settlement of New England.

The scholars forming the History of Exeter Research Group are engaged upon the collection of material for a history of Exeter. To facilitate the task they are beginning the issue of monographs, one of which is concerned with the *Mediæval Council of Exeter* (Manchester, University Press, pp. 105), and is prefaced by B. Wilkinson, with an introduction by Miss R. C. Easterling. Both Mr. Wilkinson and Miss Easterling were formerly connected with University College of the South-West of England, under the auspices of which the volume is published. As these records have never been extensively utilized the author gives many excerpts from the documents.

The British *List of Monuments*, for which protection has been granted by act of Parliament, has been reissued by His Majesty's Stationery Office, completing the additions made up to the close of 1930.

The November *Bulletin* of the Board of Celtic Studies, University of Wales (New York, Oxford University Press, pp. 193-286, \$2.50), includes a Bibliography of Monographs on the Place-Names of Wales, by Tom Jones.

The papers of Henry Dundas, first Lord Melville, have been accessible only since 1924. They are the basis of a biography of this friend and colleague of the younger Pitt, which is being written by Holden Furber, and which is to be published by the Oxford University Press.

The publication of a sixth edition of *A Short History of the Expansion of the British Empire, 1500-1930*, by William Harrison Woodward (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1931, pp. 368, \$1.75), is good evidence of its serviceableness. It originally appeared in 1899. Although allusion is made to recent developments, the original

plan of emphasizing the earlier expansion of British peoples is still retained.

It is a strange and tragic tale which Denis Gwynn tells in *Traitor or Patriot: the Life and Death of Roger Casement* (New York, Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1931, pp. 444, \$3.50). Of course, there is nothing strange in the readiness of an Irishman to die for Ireland. The surprising fact is that an Ulsterman, a Protestant, a man who had won knighthood for self-sacrificing service in the Congo and the Putumayo, should have found in his devotion to Ireland a motive for his repellent scheme of recruiting in Germany an Irish brigade among Irishmen taken prisoners on the British retreat from Mons. Mr. Gwynn does not exclude the possibility that Casement's judgment might have been unbalanced by his sufferings in the tropics. He shows conclusively how soon Casement realized the futility of his enterprise, and, furthermore, that he returned to Ireland in a German submarine not to incite, but to forestall an uprising. The author has been unable to sift to the bottom the ugly rumors as to Casement's moral character which were circulated at the time to discredit him.

The Alexander Prize (Silver Medal), offered by the Royal Historical Society, will be awarded for the best essay on any subject approved by the Literary Director. Essays must be sent in by March 31, 1932. For further particulars apply to the Secretary, Royal Historical Society, 22, Russell Square, London, W. C. 1.

The Ford lecturer in English history at Oxford for 1931-1932 is to be Mr. K. G. Feiling.

The *Cambridge Bulletin* for March contains descriptions of several notable books recently published by the Cambridge University Press. It appears three times a year, and may now be had of the Macmillan Company of New York, the American agents of the Press.

Articles: Hubert Hall and Frieda J. Nicholas, *Manorial Accounts of the Priory of Canterbury, 1260-1420* (Bull. of the Inst. of Hist. Research, Feb.); James F. Willard, *The Treasurer's Issue Roll and the Clerk of the Treasurer, Edward I.-Edward III.* (*ibid.*); Joseph H. Park, *England's Controversy over the Secret Ballot [1815-1872]* (Pol. Sci. Quar., Mar.); Luigi Villari, *Giornalismo Britannico di Ieri e di Oggi* [characterizations of chief journals of last half century] (N. Antol., May 1).

#### FRANCE

General reviews: Raymond Guyot, *Histoire de France, 1800-1914* (Rev. Hist., Jan.); Henri Hauser, *Histoire de France, Histoire Moderne, 1498-1660* (*ibid.*, Mar.).

A document on the Renaming of the French Fleet in 1671, coming from the Archives Nationales and printed in the *Mariner's Mirror* for January, illustrates the pose of the *Grand Monarque*. It is perhaps not



significant that *le Henry*, a 74, is changed to *le Souverain*. But the first five ships of the next class, *le Faucon*, *le Vermandois*, *le Fort*, *le Prince*, *le Frideric* were changed to *l'Orgueilleux*, *le Superbe*, *le Foudroyant*, *le Sans Pareil*, and *l'Admirable*. These were at Rochfort. A ship at Toulon named *la Madame* was rechristened *le Pompeux*, another ceased to be *le Courtisan* to become *le Magnifique*, and still another exchanged *le Bourbon* for *l'Esclatant*.

Professor Alfred Martineau, of the Collège de France, has summed up his five volumes published under the titles of *Dupleix et l'Inde Française* and *Les Dernières Années de Dupleix* in a single volume entitled *Dupleix, sa Vie et son Œuvre* (Paris, Société d'Éditions Géographiques, Maritimes, et Coloniales, pp. 368, 30 fr.).

M. G. Weulersse, who published twenty years ago an authoritative work, in two volumes, on *Le Mouvement Physiocratique en France de 1756 à 1770* has dealt more briefly with the same subject, *Les Physiocrates* (Paris, G. Douin, 1931, pp. xii, 332, 30 fr.), in the series called *Encyclopédie Scientifique*. It belongs to that section of the series, *Bibliothèque d'Économie Politique*, of which the late Professor G. Renard, of the Collège de France, had charge. It is convenient to have in summary form the conclusions of an eminent scholar upon a subject of such importance in the history of the eighteenth century.

It seems rather surprising that no one has anticipated Hans W. Hartmann's study of *Korsika zur Zeit der Französischen Revolution, 1789-1794* (Leipzig, Simmel, 1930, pp. 269).

The *Journal de l'Abbé de Véri*, edited by Baron Jehan de Witte, in its second volume (June, 1776-January, 1781) gives us an interesting collection of court gossip and shrewd comment on events and persons at the very moment of the American War of Independence (Paris, Talandier, 1930, pp. 452).

The Paris insurance company known as "La Nationale", in a centenary volume (Paris, Morancé, 1930, pp. 488), has included an account of its pre-Revolutionary ancestor, the *Compagnie Royale d'Assurances de la Vie*, which was founded by Clavière in 1787. Clavière does not appear as a martyr of the Terror, but as a promoter who did not permit himself to be embarrassed by scruples in dealing with business rivals and who remained the intimate of the notorious speculator and conspirator, the Baron de Batz.

Interesting impressions of the affair of August 10, 1792, are contained in letters to Swiss correspondents, which eventually found their way to the court of Vienna, and which have been discovered in the archives there. They are published in the document section of the *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française* for January.

In vol. XXVIII. of the *Proceedings* of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland is an essay by Professor

J. Salwyn Schapiro on Condorcet, the Career of a Philosophe during the French Revolution.

In the *Révolution Française* for January is the concluding installment of the *Registre des Dépenses Secrètes du Conseil Exécutif Provisoire*, edited by Pierre Caron. To this is added an index which facilitates the utilization of the whole.

In his *L'Angleterre et la Vendée* (Paris, Perrin, 1930, 2 vols., 20, 22 fr.), especially in the second volume, M. Émile Gabory, by his use of documents in the British Museum and the Record Office, has been able to throw new light upon the part which the British government played in the terrible struggle in western France. This book may therefore be read to advantage with M. Dubreuil's volume, reviewed on page 860.

The collection of early manuscripts of Napoleon, some of them hitherto unknown, published in Warsaw two years ago by M. Simon Askenazy (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXV. 213), have been republished in Paris in a sumptuous edition which includes twenty-seven pages in facsimile (*Éditions du Trianon*, pp. 114 [37 cm.  $\times$  27 cm.], 720 fr.).

The historian will find value in the critical studies on the trustworthiness of the memoirs of Thibaudeau, Roederer, Chaptal, Bourrienne, and Gourgaud contained in the volume by R. Ciampini, bearing the title *Napoleone visto dai Contemporanei* (Turin, Bocca, 1930, pp. 346).

A collection of instructive documents upon *Le Saint-Siège et la France de Décembre, 1851, à Avril, 1853* (Paris, Alcan, 1930, pp. 257, 35 fr.) has been made by M. Jean Maurain, who is also the author of a recent work with the title, *La Politique Ecclésiastique du Second Empire de 1852 à 1869*. His aim is to illustrate two phases of the period immediately following the *coup d'état*, the relations between Napoleon and the Holy See and conditions within the French Church. The author believes that by the spring of 1853 the triumph of the ultramontanists was practically complete, although they were held in restraint by the desire of Pope Pius to conciliate Napoleon. The documents are drawn from the National Archives and the archives of the ministry of foreign affairs.

To the series of *Récits d'Autrefois* has been added *La Tragédie de Sedan*, by J. L. Gaston Pastre (Paris, Hachette, 1931, pp. 122, 15 fr.). The author is a well-known military critic. The story is so absorbing that once begun it is difficult to lay the book down until its brief pages are finished. The victims are the Emperor Napoleon, ill and powerless, because he had constituted a regency and had surrendered command of the army, and the soldiers, sacrificed by the ineptitude of Palikao and Wimpffen and the folly of the Empress Eugénie. The reader regrets the absence of a few line maps to make the military operations clearer.

Vol. III. of the *Histoire des Colonies Françaises et de l'Expansion de la France dans le Monde*, under the general editorship of MM. Hano-

taux and Martineau, has as its subtitles *Le Maroc-La Tunisie*, by Georges Hardy, director of the École Coloniale, *La Syrie*, by Robert de Caix, and *L'Œuvre Scientifique Française en Syrie et en Perse*, by Henri Dehérain, librarian of the Institute (Paris, Plon, 1931, 150 fr.).

Articles: Simone Goubet, *Deux Ministres de la Marine, Seignelay et Pontchartrain* (Rev. des Quest. Hist., Jan.); Antoine Richard, *Quelques Jacobins Landais Acquéreurs de Biens Nationaux* (An. Hist. de la Rév. Fr., Mar.); P. Mautouchet, *La Vie à Paris sous la Terreur* [sections VI. and VII.] (Rév. Fr., Jan.); F. Lacombe, *Le Club des Sans-Culottes de Paulhan*, concl. (*ibid.*); Lionel D. Woodward, *Les Projets de Descente en Irlande et les Réfugiés Irlandais et Anglais en France sous la Convention* [with many excerpts from letters and other documents] (An. Hist. de la Rév. Fr., Jan.); Giuseppe Lesca, *Postille Inedite di Alessandro Manzoni a Storici della Rivoluzione Francese*, I., concl. [notes in French on Mme. de Staël's *Considérations sur les Principaux Événemens de la Révolution Française*] (N. Antol., Mar. 1, 16); Frédéric M. Kircheisen, *Napoléon I<sup>er</sup>, Frédéric-Guillaume III., et la Légion d'Honneur* [letters between the French and Prussian courts relative to the conferring of the grand cordon of the Legion of Honor on Frederick William in 1805] (Rev. d'Hist. Dipl., XLV. 1); Pierre de la Gorce, *Louis-Philippe*, I., II. (Rev. des D. M., Apr. 15, May 1); Paul Cambon, *Lettres de Tunisie*, pt. I., 1882-1883 (*ibid.*, May 1); Lindsay Rogers, *Ministerial Instability in France* (Pol. Sci. Quar., Mar.).

#### GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

*Maximilian II., der Rätselhafte Kaiser* is so called because of the fact that he alone among Habsburg emperors was within a hair's breadth of becoming a Protestant. No one is better equipped to tell his story than Viktor Bibl, who has been publishing studies in this field since 1898 and brings his synthesis together in this form (Hellerau bei Dresden, Avalun-Verlag, 1929, pp. 426).

The recent four hundredth anniversary of the Augsburg Confession lends timeliness to the appearance of W. Gussmann's *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Augsburg. Glaubensbekenntnisses*, vol. II., which is devoted principally to *D. Johann Ecks 404 Artikel zum Reichstag von Augsburg 1530* (Cassel, Pillardy, 1930, pp. xxxv, 410).

The great publication of the Societas Goerresiana, *Concilium Tridentinum: Diariorum, Actorum, Epistolarum, Tractatum, Nova Collectio*, has now reached the eighth volume, numbered tome XII. and contains the *Tractatum Pars Prior* (Freiburg im Br., Herder, 1930, pp. lxxx, 884). The editor is Vinc. Schweitzer.

The first volume of a new documentary publication for German history, entitled *Historisch-Politisches Archiv zur Deutschen Geschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* has been published by Quelle and Meyer of



Leipzig. The editor is Dr. Ludwig Dehio, and the volume includes Briefe Wilhelm Stahls aus der Paulskirche, Briefwechsel zwischen Graf Waldersee und Graf Yorck von Wartenburg, 1885-1894, and Erinnerungen des Reichsministers a. D. Dr. Schiffer "Um Bassermann und Bethmann". As the contents of this volume indicate, the aim of the series is to supplement the greater official documentary collections with material of a more personal, yet equally valuable, character. It is issued under the auspices of the Imperial Historical Commission and of the Historical Commission of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences.

Guides to local German history in three widely separated fields are to be found in Reinhold Specht's *Bibliographie zur Geschichte von Anhalt* (Magdeburg, Selbstverl. d. Hist. Komm., 1930, pp. xiv, 360), Karl Schornbaum's *Archivinventare der Evang. Mittelfränk. Pfarreien des Ehem. Konsistoriums Ansbach* (Würzburg, Kabitzsch, 1929, pp. ix, 857), and Willy Klawitter's *Die Zeitungen und Zeitschriften Schlesiens von den Anfängen bis zum Jahre 1870 bzw. bis zur Gegenwart* (Breslau, Trewendt, 1930, pp. 251).

On the basis of Meusel's previous publication of source material, Gerhard Ramlow has reconstituted *Ludwig von der Marwitz und die Anfänge Konservativer Politik und Staatsanschauung in Preussen* (Berlin, Ebering, 1930, pp. 104). Marwitz, continuing the traditions of the Great Frederick, held Prussia, the nobility, and the army to be the fundamental elements of any political reconstruction. As upholder of the aristocratic, agrarian point of view, he opposed Stein and Hardenberg during the Napoleonic period.

Bismarck's method of dealing with South German particularism has been studied with greater care than his relations with the small states of Northern Germany. To clarify these relations is the aim of Karl Lange in *Bismarck und die Norddeutschen Kleinstaaten im Jahre 1866* (Berlin, Carl Heymann, 1930, pp. viii, 239, 12 M.). Considering the stress of that year Bismarck seems to have treated these states with great forbearance. Dr. Lange's treatment is based upon an exhaustive examination of all the documents in the archives.

Eugen Diesel, author of *Germany and the Germans*, translated by W. D. Robson-Scott (New York, Macmillan, 1931, pp. ix, 306, \$2.00), explains in his preface that his father, the inventor of the famous engine, first taught him on their frequent journeys together to observe the characteristics of the communities he visited. This volume is an unconscious tribute to his father's success as a teacher, for its characterizations of German life in town and country, from south to north, from the old order to the new, would be an excellent introduction to the study of recent German history. Even the changing landscape is portrayed in its three phases, the "agricultural", "industrial", and "holiday".

Articles: Richard Lies, *Die Wahl Wenzels zum Römischen Könige in ihrem Verhältnis zur Goldenen Bulle* (Hist. Vierteljahr., Apr.); Hajo

Holborn, *Protestantismus und Politische Ideengeschichte: Kritische Bemerkungen aus Anlass des Buches von Otto Westphal, "Feinde Bismarcks"*; I., *Der Fall Emil Ludwig als Ausgangspunkt einer Revision der Historik?* II., *Die Fortwirkung der Lutherischen Ideen in der Deutschen Geistesgeschichte* (Hist. Zeitsch., CXLIV. 1); Karl Buchheim, *Heinrich von Sybel und der Staatsgedanke, 1844 bis 1851* [publizistische Dokumente aus der Kölnischen Zeitung] (Hist. Vierteljahr., Apr. 1); Ludwig Dehio, *Bismarck und die Heeresvorlagen der Konfliktzeit* (Hist. Zeitsch., CXLIV. 1).

#### ITALY AND SPAIN

General reviews: Alessandro Luzio, *Studi Cavouriani* (Riv. Stor. Ital., Jan.); Karl Hadank, *Eine Sammlung von Aufsätzen der Görres-Gesellschaft über Spanische Geschichte* [1928] (Hist. Vierteljahr., XXV. 4).

With the eighty-nine biographies contained in *Dogi Biennali di Genova dal 1528 al 1669* (Genoa, Marchese, 1930, 2 vols., pp. 475, 495), P. Luigi M. Levati has completed his seven volumes, containing the lives of the 174 doges from Boccanegra to Brignole (1797).

The career of a Milanese diplomat who was sent four times unsuccessfully to the Second French Republic, representing respectively the provisional government of Lombardy, the Mazzinian Junta in Switzerland, the democratic Tuscan government, and the Roman Republic, is recounted by Menghini Mario's *Ludovico Frapolli e le sue Missioni Diplomatiche a Parigi, 1848-1849* [Studi e Documenti di Storia del Risorgimento, vol. V.] (Florence, Lemonnier, 1930, pp. 162).

Spain is preparing a great coöperative national history of the monographic type under the direction of Menendez Pidal, president of the Royal Academy. It will comprise seventeen volumes of a thousand pages each, dealing with all sides of Spanish civilization, and will be published by Calpe in Madrid.

In a *discurso de recepción* to the Seville Academy of Letters (Seville, tip. de M. Carmona, pp. 63) Don Cristóbal Bermúdez Plata, director of the Archives of the Indies, gives from Spanish and other sources an account of the English attack on Cartagena in 1741.

Under the title of *Quelques Données sur l'Historiographie en Espagne de 1900 à 1930 du Point de Vue de la Synthèse*, Professor José Deleito y Piñulea, of the University of Valencia, describes in the *Revue de Synthèse Historique* (Dec.) the efforts to give to Spanish historical studies a better equipment and a more effective organization.

The *Nuova Antologia* for Feb. 16 contains four sketches of the late Tommaso Tittoni in various phases of his activity, as president of the senate, minister of foreign affairs, president of the Royal Academy and

editor of *Nuova Antologia*, together with a bibliography of articles published by him in that review from 1917 to 1930.

Articles: André É. Sayous, *Dans l'Italie, à l'Intérieur des Terres: Sienne de 1221 à 1229* [commercial activity in comparison with that of seacoast towns] (*An. d'Hist. Éc. et Soc.*, Apr. 15); Paolo Treves, *Il Realismo Politico di Francesco Guicciardini: Considerazioni Preliminari* (*N. Riv. Stor.*, Nov.); Paul Matter, *Les Origines du Risorgimento: après 1815, Réaction et Révolution [1815-1821]* (*Rev. des Sci. Pol.*, Jan.); Niccolò Tommaseo, *Delle Cospirazioni Italiane*, I.-concl. [1810-1831; an unpublished essay by the late historian] (*N. Antol.*, Apr. 1, 16, May 1); Luigi Arezio, *Ferdinando I. di Fronte alla Costituzione e ai Duumviri del Quinquennio: Secondo Nuovi Documenti*, I., II. [Naples, 1815-1820] (*ibid.*, Mar. 1, 16); Emmanuele Librino, *L'Attività Politica di Garibaldi nel 1861, con un Fac-simile e Documenti Inediti* (*ibid.*, Feb. 16).

#### NORTHERN EUROPE

W. P. Sommerfeldt's *Norsk Tidsskriftindex*, 1928 (Oslo, Steen, 1930), is an index of all the articles published in Norwegian periodicals in 1928. The editor has also included important articles dealing with Norwegian affairs which appeared in foreign publications.

*Island fra Sagatid til Nutid* (Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1930) is a summary of Icelandic history (political, intellectual, economic) in sixteen illuminating chapters by Finnur Jónsson, the well-known Icelandic philologist at the University of Copenhagen.

*A History of the Vikings*, by T. D. Kennedy (New York, Scribner's, 1930), is an attempt to tell the story of the Northern peoples from their emergence in the stone age to the close of the Viking period. Mr. Kennedy's work differs from that of Keary and others in that he deals with the operations of the Vikings in all their fields, east and west.

In his translation of *Egils Saga* (Cambridge, University Press, 1930) E. R. Eddison has made accessible to English readers a rare classic and one of the most important historical documents dealing with the settlement of Iceland.

*Oslo og Hamars Jordebok, 1574-1577*, edited by Sigurd Kolsrud (Oslo, 1929), is a survey of the lands held by the dioceses of Oslo and Hamar toward the close of the sixteenth century. The manuscript published dates from about 1650.

Ever since the Danish author, Paludan Möller, published his 'critical observations' of the so-called Kalmar Union of 1397, that act has been regarded as a hope on the part of Queen Margaret and very little more. This view has recently been restated in its most extreme form by Lauritz Weibull, of the University of Lund (*Unionsmötet i Kalmar, Scandia*, 1930, 2, pp. 185-222). At the same time, a contrary view has been presented by Gottfried Carlsson, who believes that a serious attempt was



made at Kalmar to federate the Northern kingdoms (Kalmarunionen, *Historisk Tidskrift*, 1930, 4, pp. 405-481).

Among the many books that were called forth by the preparations for the tercentenary of the activities of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany the following deserve notice: Sir George MacCunn, *Gustavus Adolphus, the Hurricane of Europe* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1930, pp. 319); Hermann Vortisch, *Gustav Adolf, Christ und Heid* (Potsdam, Stiftungsverlag, 1930, pp. 195); Georg Wittrock, *Gustav Adolf* (Stuttgart, Perthes, 1930, pp. 391), reviewed here in April. Sir George MacCunn deals with his subject from the viewpoint of a soldier. An article of more than ordinary interest is Johannes Paul's discussion of Gustaf Adolf in der Deutschen Geschichtsschreibung (*Historische Vierteljahrsschrift*, 1930, 3).

Articles: Johan Vising, *Voltaires Histoire de Charles XII.* (Nordisk Tidskrift, 1930, 8); Bruno Lesch, *Stedingk och Finland efter Skilsmässan* [Stedingk and Finland after the separation] (*Historisk Tidskrift för Finland*, 1930, 2); Hjalmar Holmquist, *Svenska Kyrkan under Erik XIV.* [the Swedish church in the reign of Erik XIV.] (*Scandia*, 1930, 2); Kjell Kumlien, *Karl Knutsson och Sveriges Unionsparti, 1439* (*Historisk Tidskrift*, 1930, 4); *Anna Pedersdatters Dom* [sentence passed on Anna Pedersdatter for witchcraft, 1590] (Bergens Historiske Forening, Skrifter, 1930).

L. M. L.

#### UNITED STATES

##### GENERAL

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following may be mentioned: letters (11) of Captain Lawrence Butler from Westmoreland County, Va., 1784-1793; journal of Susan Lear, Philadelphia to New England, 1788; papers (15) of Major P. C. L'Enfant, 1791-1805; letter-books of John Selman, Marblehead, Mass., 1791-1797, and of William Orne of Salem, 1798-1801; log of Lt. T. J. Harris on the U. S. barque *Peacock*, 1824-1827; diaries (typewritten copy, 115 fascicles) of Chief Justice Charles Mason, of Iowa, 1829-1882; Gustav Dresel, "Erlebnisse in Nordamerika und Texas", 1837-1841; journal of Greenwood Plantation, S. C., 1858-1864; papers (several thousand) of Bishop Matthew Simpson; papers (several hundred) of W. D. Foulke concerning the Civil Service Reform movement; also, photostats of Washington letters, photostats from the various heirs making a nearly complete reproduction of the papers of Secretary James McHenry, and many thousands of photo-copies of materials for American history in archives and libraries of Europe, Mexico, and Canada.

The task of rewriting American history, if not in the mood of self-contempt, at least with the determination to confess all the sins of our forbears, goes bravely forward, and our European friends read the books gladly. The title of Arthur Train's volume, *Puritan's Progress* (New

York, Scribner's, 1931, pp. 477, \$3.50), hints that the Tercentenary Puritan is again to be unveiled. This is, however, not precisely the case. In the first place, the author attaches his story to his genealogical tree, with the name of Samuel Train, his great-great-grandfather, written across the trunk. Samuel Train, we are told, lived in Weston, and "seems to have been a sort of hardy perennial, for he was in turn surveyor, fenceviewer, 'wardin', constable, and selectman". This sentence indicates that the tale is told with good humor, and that the reader will often be moved to laughter. Mr. Train himself acknowledges that all the Blue Laws of New England do not prove that the Puritans "got no fun out of life or never smiled". He writes also with genuine feeling of his grandfather who was pastor of a Baptist church in Framingham for many years. It is not the Puritans, but certain dwellers in New York during the "Dreadful Era", that get the roughest treatment. The story ends with the contemporary scene.

A series of essays contributed by Dr. Charles F. Thwing to the *Hibbert Journal* from 1911 to 1930 have been brought together under the title of *American Society* (New York, Macmillan, 1931, pp. ix, 271, \$2.25). Several were first printed during the World War and served to interpret to readers in England the point of view of enlightened and sympathetic Americans. Others analyze the characteristics of society in the last decade. Their tone is optimistic, although they frankly point out certain evils in the existing situation. The tenth essay applies a dozen tests to American life, and finds the result encouraging except in the case of the attitude toward the family and toward religion.

A sixth edition of Dr. Charles A. Beard's *American Government and Politics* (New York, Macmillan, 1931, pp. xii, 831, \$3.75) has enabled the author to make extensive revisions, emphasizing the "functions of government as distinguished from the forms" and utilizing the points of view embodied in *The American Leviathan* of which a notice appears on page 845 of this journal.

Professor William Bennett Munro has rewritten his volume on *The Government of the United States, National, State, and Local* (New York, Macmillan, 1931, pp. ix, 795, \$3.75), the first and second editions of which appeared in 1919 and 1925. A new edition of his *The Governments of Europe* (New York, Macmillan, 1931, pp. xi, 841, \$4.00) has also appeared.

The Council on Foreign Relations has published a *Directory of American Agencies concerned with the Study of International Affairs* (New York, 1931, pp. xiii, 138, \$1.75). It has been compiled by Ruth Savord, the librarian of the Council, and an introduction has been contributed by Isaiah Bowman.

*The Story of our National Ballads*, by C. A. Browne (New York, Crowell, 1931, pp. xii, 315, \$2.50), originally published in 1919, has been reissued in a revised and enlarged edition.

The *Journal* of the American Irish Historical Society, 1930-1931, prints a further list of passengers, chiefly from Ireland, who arrived in American ports from September, 1815, to August, 1816. The list is taken from *The Shamrock or Irish Chronicle*. Charles M. Early prepared this as well as the previous list. One of the interesting biographical sketches in the same number deals with Cornelius Harnett, North Carolina patriot. Mr. John G. Coyle is the author.

In no. 32 of the *Publications* of the American Jewish Historical Society Rabbi Herbert I. Bloom gives an account of what Dutch archives contain for American Jewish history; Dr. Max J. Kohler, of Isaac Harby, 1788-1828, early leader in Reformed Judaism; and Ruth L. Benjamin, of Marcus Otterbourg, United States consul in Mexico, 1861-1867, minister in 1867—a contribution to the history of the Maximilian episode.

Rabbi Lee J. Levinger has done pioneer work in his *History of the Jews in the United States* (Cincinnati, Department of Synagogue and School Extension of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1930, pp. 543, \$2.00). It is the first textbook on the subject to appear. Although intended primarily for high school students it offers to all a convenient source of information about the American rôle of the Jews. Part III., with the title of American Jews in the Twentieth Century, deals with contemporary situations and problems.

A characteristic letter of Franklin to the Marquis de Chastellux upon the return of Chastellux to France is printed by L. de Contenson in the *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique* for January apropos of an anniversary of the Society of the Cincinnati. The letter was found in the archives of the Château de Chastellux.

How Lincoln and the Lincoln household looked to a girl still in her teens, the elder sister of two playmates of Tad and Willy Lincoln, is told in the recollections of Julia Taft Bayne under the title of *Tad Lincoln's Father* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1931, pp. xii, 206, \$2.00). The foreword to these pleasing pages is by the late William E. Barton.

*Master of Manhattan: the Life of Richard Croker*, by Lothrop Stoddard (New York, Longmans, Green, 1931, pp. vii, 279, \$3.50), is a presentation of American municipal misgovernment, dramatized with situations and incidents drawn from the career of a famous political boss. How sensitive the author is to dramatic effects is shown by the fact that an account of Croker's triumph at the "Tammany Derby" of 1907 follows with no interlude the record of his forced withdrawal from active connection with New York politics. Not only this but every part of the story is well told. It is significant that the book appears when Tammany is again spread over the front pages of the newspapers. The impression which the narrative leaves is one of astonishment, disgust, and humiliation.



*The Kamia of Imperial Valley*, by E. W. Gifford, has been published by the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution as its *Bulletin* 97.

The Public Library of the District of Columbia has issued as Reference List no. 26, *The World War [1914-1918] and its Aftermath*, compiled by Iva I. Swift, reader's adviser in history (Washington, Government Printing Office, pp. 29). Each work is appraised judiciously, including occasional comments of reviewers. No. 25 in the same series is *Books on the Constitution of the United States*.

*Among the Eskimos of Wales, Alaska, 1890-1893*, by Harrison Robertson Thornton, edited and annotated by Neda A. Thornton and William M. Thornton, jr. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1931, pp. xxxviii, 235, \$4.00), is a record of the observations of a highly trained teacher, of Virginia stock, sent out by the American Missionary Association. It deals with every phase of Eskimo life. The writer fell a victim to Eskimo desperadoes maddened by whisky. The volume is prefaced with biographical sketches of the author. There are many illustrations.

#### NEW ENGLAND

The opening article in the *New England Quarterly* for April is a paper on Legalism *versus* Revolutionary Doctrine in New England, read by Professor Richard B. Morris at the Boston meeting of the American Historical Association. The same number contains another of Mr. Curtis Nettels's essays on the economic and financial life of the colonies. Its title is The Menace of Colonial Manufacturing, 1690-1720.

The "first serial" for vol. LXIII. of the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society (meetings from Oct., 1929, to Mar., 1930) has a paper on the English Ancestry of George Washington, by Professor Hart, one by Professor McIlwain on the Transfer of the Massachusetts Charter to New England and its Significance in American Constitutional History, one by F. W. Grinnell on John Winthrop and the Constitutional Thinking of John Adams, and one by Colonel C. E. Banks on Religious Persecution as a Factor in Emigration to New England, 1630-1640, declaring against its actuality in fact or as motive—to which Professor Morison replies. In addition to some thirty quite miscellaneous documents, the publication presents ten interesting pieces relating to the Masterson family of Plymouth and Leyden, which Colonel Banks found in the archives of the latter city. The second serial, April-June, 1930, has papers on Rev. George Phillips, early minister of Watertown, by Rev. H. W. Foote, on the late Moorfield Storey, by John T. Morse, jr., and on Governor Thomas Pownall, by W. O. Sawtelle; but the main portion (pp. 311) is a full collection, from the Washington, Gates, and other papers, of the letters of that busy historian, the Rev. William Gordon.

The April number of the Essex Institute *Historical Collections* includes, besides continuations, an article by General William A. Pew entitled the Spirit of Puritanism.

In the Worcester Historical Society *Publications*, new series, vol. I., no. 4, appear excerpts from the letters of Mrs. Penelope S. Canfield, which are, as the title of the article indicates, Recollections of Worcester One Hundred Years Ago. The same number includes an article on Worcester County: its History with Discussion of Attempts to divide it, by Z. W. Coombs.

The *Proceedings* of the Vermont Historical Society for March contains the address delivered on January 20 before the society and the general assembly of Vermont, by Henry Steele Wardner, on the Haldimand Negotiations. The address is a frank discussion of those negotiations on the basis of documentary evidence, with no squeamish tenderness for interpretations of the traditional type.

#### MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The New York State Historical Association is planning a history of New York in five volumes, with the same general character and scope as the *Commonwealth History of Massachusetts*, the final volume of which is reviewed in this journal on page 842. The editor is to be Dr. Alexander C. Flick, state historian. On the Advisory Board are: Professor Dixon Ryan Fox, Columbia University; Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, New York Public Library; Mr. Alexander J. Wall, New York Historical Society; Mr. A. J. F. van Laer, state archivist; and Mr. Peter Nelson, Division of Archives and History. It is expected that the volumes will be published early in 1932.

In the April number of the New York Historical Society *Quarterly Bulletin* appears an article by the late Rufus A. Grider, edited and annotated by A. J. Wall, on Powder Horns: their History and Use. The article is accompanied by numerous illustrations of elaborately carved horns.

Among the contents of the April number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* are an article on the Edwards Family of Connecticut, by Charles E. Banks; the Earliest Indices of New Brunswick (Canada) Wills and Letters of Administration, contributed by Adolph L. Voge; and Ulster County, New York, Tax Lists (early eighteenth century), with editorial comments by John R. Totten.

An essay on Myles Cooper, second president of King's College, by Clarence Hayden Vance, which appeared in the September number of the *Columbia University Quarterly*, has now been issued separately.

In the *Papers* of the Bibliographical Society of America, vol. XXIV., a contribution of special interest is the Check-list of New Jersey Imprints to the End of the Revolution, compiled by Constance H. Humphrey.

The list adds ninety items to the 210 given in Nelson's *Check-list*, printed about thirty years ago. The entries also are more complete. The list is furnished with an introduction giving a history of printing in New Jersey and mentioning the libraries which possess collections of the imprints.

The principal articles, other than continuations, in the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society (April) are: Shipley, the Country Seat of a Jersey Loyalist (James Parker), by Charles W. Parker; Some Personal Characteristics of the Lenape Indians, by Charles A. Philhower; and Values of the Tercentenary Celebration in Jersey City, by Rev. Harry W. Noble. While the celebration, Dr. Noble maintains, was a "real historical observance", its spiritual voices, as exemplified in the Dutch tradition, the Paulus Hook tradition, and the "Under-Ground Railroad" tradition, were deeper and more compelling.

With the *Proceedings* of the annual meeting of the Swedish Colonial Society which took place on April 11, 1929, are published the constitution and by-laws of the society. The address by His Excellency, Wollmar Filip Boström, minister of Sweden to the United States, is included.

In the April number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* appears an informing paper by Dr. W. F. Dunaway, of Pennsylvania State College, entitled Pennsylvania as an Early Distributing Center of Population. Dr. Dunaway traces more particularly the migration of Pennsylvania Germans and Scotch Irish to regions farther south, to Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, but in goodly measure also to Kentucky, and somewhat also to Tennessee, Georgia, Ohio, and other states south and southwest. Some Quaker migrations are also noted. The *Magazine* contains an account book of Benjamin Franklin kept by him during his first mission to England as provincial agent, 1757-1762, with introduction and notes by George S. Eddy.

At the one hundredth anniversary of Lafayette College, on May 20, 1932, there is to be a conference on Franco-American civilization, at which several well-known French scholars will deliver addresses.

The *Proceedings and Collections*, vol. XXI., of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, edited by Frances Dorrance (Wilkes-Barré, the Society, 1930, pp. lxxxii, 297), contains, besides reports, the revised by-laws, etc., several addresses, among others, Early American Snobs, by Dixon Ryan Fox, the Student at Paris in the Thirteenth Century, by André A. Beaumont, jr., and Market Street Bridges at Wilkes-Barré, by Constance Reynolds. The most considerable section is given to a reprint of *Essays from the Desk of Poor Robert the Scribe*, who was Charles Miner, editor of the *Gleaner and Luzerne Advertiser*. These essays belong to the years 1810-1813 and are now rare in collected form. Dr. J. P. Boyd has written a foreword.

Professor Alfred P. James contributes to the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* a biographical account of General James Scott



Negley (1826-1901). Edward P. Anderson's study of the Intellectual Life of Pittsburgh, 1786-1836, is continued.

#### SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

In the *South Atlantic Quarterly* for April is a suggestive sketch and interpretation of Hinton Rowan Helper under the title of *The Hated Helper*, by William Polk. Calvin B. Hoover, the author of *The Economic Life of Soviet Russia*, contributes an article on Religion in Russia.

The principal article in the March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* is a study, by Paul R. Kelbaugh, of the Tobacco Trade in Maryland, 1700-1725. The author points out that the period surveyed in this essay was one of "leanness and poverty". He seeks to discover the causes of this condition and also to show the intimate relation between the tobacco business in Maryland and that in Virginia.

The initial article in the April number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* concerns the Yorktown Sesquicentennial, principally a résumé of the events culminating in the surrender of Cornwallis. Edith E. B. Thomson contributes to this number a biographical account of William Allason, a Scottish Merchant in Falmouth in the Eighteenth Century, and Herbert Thatcher writes concerning Dr. John Mitchell, F.R.S., of Virginia (c. 1690-1768), chiefly to establish outstanding facts in his career.

The principal article in the April number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* is by Colonel John W. Wright, U. S. A., and is entitled *Some Notes on the Continental Army*. Colonel Wright names the military books used by officers of the Continental Army, gives an account of arms, equipment, and military supplies, of organization, order of battle, method of march, etc. A second installment of the notes will follow in the next issue of the *Quarterly*. In this number are also some letters of William H. Garland and Samuel M. Garland, students at William and Mary College, 1823-1824.

Among the contents of the April number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* are a discussion, by Paul S. Whitcomb, of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, and John Tyler's letter to Webster, April 17, 1850, which has only recently come to light.

Dr. C. C. Crittenden contributes to the April number of the *North Carolina Historical Review* a study of Inland Navigation in North Carolina, 1763-1789. In colonial times inland waterways played a vital part in the life of North Carolina, but had declined in relative importance at the time of the Revolution because of the drift of population into the interior. Efforts after the Revolution to improve the rivers achieved but little, and even the great movement for internal improvements after 1815 was not a marked success. In a discussion of Iredell's Dissent in *Chisholm v. Georgia: its Political Significance*, Mr. Jeff B. Fordham takes issue with a prevailing idea that Iredell's dissenting opinion became

the foundation of the later doctrine of state sovereignty and state rights. Dr. R. H. Woody relates the history of the South Carolina Election of 1870, and Miss Adelaide L. Fries contributes, with editorial notes, the Journal of Charles A. Van Vleck of a journey from Salem, North Carolina, to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in October, 1826.

The *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, continuing the series of letters from John Stewart to William Dunlop, prints in the April number a letter of June 23, 1690 (pp. 24), giving a detailed account of all manner of affairs in the colony. The letters of Peter Manigault, chiefly to his parents and written from London, 1752-1753, are also continued. Inscriptions from St. Helena Churchyard, Beaufort, South Carolina, are contributed by Marie H. Heyward and Alice R. H. Smith.

The *Georgia Historical Quarterly* has in the March number an article by Amanda Johnson, of the Georgia State College for Women, entitled *A State in the Making: Georgia, 1783-1798*. Professor E. Merton Coulter's paper on Sherman and the South is reprinted from the January number of the *North Carolina Historical Review*. A journal kept by John William Devereux, of Milledgeville, of one of his trips to New York (June 23 to November 18, 1799), is edited by O. Douglas Weeks, of the University of Texas.

The December *Bulletin* of the Institut Français of Washington published an interesting French memoir on the prospects of Louisiana. Its probable date is 1718. It came into the possession of the Denver Public Library in 1893. Professor Eugene C. Barker, of the University of Texas, and Professor Erwin F. Meyer, of the University of Colorado, have prepared it for publication. The memoir takes a very optimistic view of the possibilities of the new colony.

The contents of the April number of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* are chiefly documentary. Two documents from the French archives, translated by A. G. Sanders, with an introduction by Henry P. Dart, relate to the first cargo of African slaves for Louisiana (1718). A brief account of Lafayette's visit to Baton Rouge in 1825 is given in a translation by R. W. Colomb from Levasseur's *Lafayette en Amérique en 1824 et 1825* (Paris, 1829). Under the supervision of the same translator comes Dufour's Local Sketches (the *Esquisses Locales* of Cyprien Dufour, New Orleans, 1847), which will appear in installments. An extended article of especial interest is upon *Some Activities of United States Citizens in the South American Wars of Independence, 1808-1824*, by A. Curtis Wilgus, of the George Washington University. Mr. Henry P. Dart contributes to the department of the "Editor's Chair" a short study of the Revolution of 1876 in Louisiana.

The April number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* includes a paper on the Early Days of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Texas, by DuBose Murphy; an account, by R. L. Bieseke, of the First German

Settlement in Texas; and the concluding installment of Lois F. Blount's Brief Study of Thomas J. Rusk.

WESTERN STATES

The twenty-fourth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held in historic Lexington, the capital of the Blue Grass Empire, from April 30 to May 2. One of the hospitalities of the occasion was an historical pilgrimage to Shakertown and Harrodsburg. At Harrodsburg the members of the association visited the replica of Old Fort Harrod and were entertained by the Harrodsburg Historical Society and the State Park Commission. At the annual dinner of the association, given by the University of Kentucky, Willard Rouse Jillson, state geologist, spoke on Early Kentucky Literature, and each diner was delighted to find at his plate a beautifully printed booklet with reprints and extracts of the early literary productions of Kentucky. Later in the evening came the presidential address by Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg upon France and the Mississippi Valley: a Résumé. This is published in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June. After the address President and Mrs. McVey received the members at their home. At the annual business meeting Professor Beverley W. Bond, jr., of the University of Cincinnati, was chosen president.

It was consistent with the purposes of the organization that the central themes of discussion were drawn from the history of the Mississippi Valley, but this was interpreted in a large spirit. At the first session papers were read by R. S. Cotterill, of Florida State College for Women, on Indian Trade in the South; by G. R. Poage, of the Texas State College for Women, on Henry Clay and the Taylor Régime; and by Elmer Ellis, of the University of Missouri, on the Silver Republicans in the Election of 1896. The next session was devoted chiefly to the Southwest, with papers by Lawrence Kinnaird, of the University of California, on the Anglo-American Penetration into Spanish Louisiana; by C. J. Ritchey, of Macalester College, on Personal Compromises on the Missouri Border during the Civil War, based on letters written to Mr. Ritchey's ancestors; and by James D. Malin, of the University of Kansas, on Colonel Harvey and his "Forty Thieves". Upon another occasion R. C. Ballard Thruston, of the Filson Club, discussed Filson's Map of Kentucky, 1784, and Charles M. Knapp, of the University of Kentucky, spoke on the Maysville Road. There were also reports by Solon J. Buck on the work of the Joint Committee of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council on Materials for Research, by A. C. Krey for the Commission on Social Studies in the Schools, and an address by Albert Bushnell Hart on the plans of the George Washington Bicentennial Commission. There were discussions of the problems of the teacher. The closing session was a joint luncheon of the association and the Kentucky Academy of Social Sciences, with the collection of materials on Kentucky history as the subject.

Perhaps the meeting which attracted most interest was a general



discussion on the theme, A Generation of the Frontier Hypothesis. The leader, Frederic L. Paxson, of the University of Wisconsin, declared that this formula, the "Frontier Hypothesis", presents the most attractive single explanation of the trend and result of American history. In the thirty-eight years that have elapsed since Frederick J. Turner read his paper on the Significance of the Frontier in American History, nearly all American history has been rewritten. Not a single important challenge has been made as to the correctness of that view. John D. Hicks, of the University of Nebraska, said that the Turner hypothesis, coming when it did, may be viewed as a part of a wider movement of Western protest, which attained full growth with the appearance of the Populist party. Solon J. Buck, speaking on the Frontier Hypothesis, stated that it appeared at a most significant moment—during the period following the Civil War and Reconstruction. The times demanded a new approach to the interpretation of American history, and the Turner thesis met this demand. One of the delightful features of this session was the dispatch of a telegram to Frederick J. Turner, at his home in San Marino, California, congratulating him for having suggested this "Frontier" thesis, and expressing the hope that he may be given many more years of fruitful labor. In his reply, Professor Turner expressed his deep appreciation, and declared that he was "expecting the Association to till the rich field of American expansion, of which the frontier line was the symbol".

J. W. O.

The opening article in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June is the presidential address of Dr. Louise P. Kellogg. The other articles are: John McLean, Postmaster-General, by Francis P. Weisenburger, and The Origin of a National Reclamation Policy, by John T. Ganoë. There is also a sketch of Edward Channing and his work, by Ralph R. Fahrney.

In the April number of *Mid-America* appear articles by Henry S. Spalding, on Pottinger's Creek Settlement, Kentucky, 1785; by Patrick W. Browne, on some phases of the career of Father Edmund Burke; and by Gilbert J. Garraghan, on Old Vincennes: a Chapter in the Ecclesiastical History of the West.

The *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society prints in the January and April numbers the History of the Rise and Progress of the First Settlement on Salt River and the Establishment of the New Providence Church, drawn from the Robert B. McAfee manuscripts recently acquired by the society. The History of the Kentucky Constitution and Constitutional Conventions, by George L. Willis, sr., was concluded in the January number. The Fayette County Circuit Court records, contributed by Charles R. Staples, are continued.

The *Filson Club History Quarterly* prints in the April number the record of John D. Shane's interview with Benjamin Allen of Clark County, Kentucky, about 1850, one of the many Shane manuscripts in

the Draper Collection. It was prepared for publication by Lucien Beckner. In the same issue is a list of materials (manuscript and printed) on Kentucky history in the Library of the Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches of Montreat, North Carolina, prepared by S. M. Tenney, curator.

Nashville as seen by Travellers, in the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* for April, is made up of selections by Mr. S. C. Williams from the writings of visitors, beginning with François Michaux, and including Aaron Burr. Two other articles are: The Senatorial Career of William G. Brownlow, by Professor James W. Patton, and Johnson's Plan of Restoration in relation to that of Lincoln, by Miss Rena M. Andrews.

The *Quarterly Bulletin* of the Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio contains two articles by Harvey W. Compton, one on Ohio during the Ice Age, and the other on the Ohio Mound Builders.

The address given by Professor Evarts Boutell Greene at the Twelfth Indiana History Conference, held in Indianapolis on December 12, 1930, has been issued as no. 2, vol. X., *Indiana Historical Society Publications*. The subject was Our Pioneer Historical Societies and it was in commemoration of the centennial of the Indiana Historical Society.

J. Harley Nichols contributes to the March number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* an appreciative sketch of the late Frank McKinney ("Kin") Hubbard, widely known as "Abe Martin"; Linneus N. Hines relates the history of the Indiana State Board of Education; Mrs. Rose Schultheis gives an account of William Henry Harrison's Councils with Tecumseh; while Professor James A. Woodburn, under the title *Indiana and her History*, discusses state loyalty in Indiana as compared with that in some of the original colonies and calls attention to the achievements of the state and her people.

The Mennonite Historical Society of Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana, has acquired from the estate of the late Bishop John F. Funk the extensive correspondence and records of the Mennonite Publishing Company, as well as the private correspondence and manuscripts left by Bishop Funk.

Vol. XXI. of the *Collections* of the Illinois State Historical Library (vol. II. of the Law series) is entitled *The Laws of Indiana Territory, 1801-1809*, edited by Francis S. Philbrick, formerly professor of law, University of Illinois (Springfield, published by the Trustees, 1930, pp. cclxxxii, 734). Professor Philbrick has supplied an introduction dealing broadly with the organization of the administration, courts, procedure, and application of laws. There is a special index to the laws as well as a general index.

The Illinois State Historical Library and Society has issued a *General Index to Collections, Journals, Publications, 1899-1928*, compiled by Juliet G. Sager, assistant librarian (pp. 95), and a supplementary *Index* of the *Journal*, vol. XXII., nos. 1-4, April, 1929-January, 1930 (pp. 61).

The *Centennial History of Decatur and Macon County* (Illinois), by Mabel E. Richmond (Decatur, *Decatur Review* and the Centennial Association, 1930, pp. 470), is based not only on Macon County records but upon the recollections of early settlers set down many years ago by the staff of the *Review*. Three chapters give Lincoln's connection with the county, for his father moved there in 1830. The volume has many illustrations.

Among the contents of the *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society, October number, are an article on Newspapers and Periodicals in the Lincoln Country, 1831-1832, by Frank J. Heintz; an address, by Cornelius J. Doyle, at the dedication ceremonies of the monument erected by Illinois to Stephen A. Douglas, at Winchester, Illinois, July 5, 1930; an account, by Philip D. Jordan, of the Life and Works of James Gardiner Edwards (1802-1851), publisher and editor, particularly associated with the Burlington (Iowa) *Hawk-Eye*.

The State Historical Society of Missouri has begun the publication of the *Debates of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875* with vol. I. (Columbia, Mo., 1930, pp. 576). There are to be twelve volumes for the debates of the seventy-four days of the session, and this volume covers twelve of those days, dealing chiefly with organization. Parts of three days were given to the question of the appointment of chaplains, because this seemed to touch the problem of religious freedom. The editors are Dr. Isidor Loeb and Mr. Floyd C. Shoemaker. In the preface they have explained their system of editing, which seems excellent. It will be recalled that the same editors brought out in 1920, in two volumes, the *Journal: Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875*.

The April number of the *Missouri Historical Review* contains a History of the Missouri County Court, by William L. Bradshaw; an article on Ghost Towns and Centenarian Communities of Central Missouri, by Walter Ridgway; part II. of the early life of Joseph Pulitzer, by George S. Johns; and other continuations.

The spring number of *Michigan History Magazine* is almost wholly taken up with a record of Historical Markers and Memorials in Michigan, compiled by Percy H. Andrus. The article is accompanied by numerous illustrations.

The Detroit Biography, by M. M. Quaife, in the March number of the *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet*, is of William Dummer Powell, Detroit's first local judge. The item in the May number is an account by Mr. Quaife of John Askin, apropos of the publication by the Detroit Public Library of *The John Askin Papers*, vol. II. (1796-1820). A supplement to the May number contains a sketch of Francis Parkman, by Louise Rau.

The *Annals of Iowa* publishes in the April number, in facsimile, twelve of Lincoln's letters, of which the earliest is dated 1843, the latest, 1864. David C. Mott continues his account of Abandoned Towns,



Villages, and Post Offices of Iowa and contributes a record of the twenty-second biennial session of the Pioneer Lawmakers Association of Iowa, held at Des Moines, February 18.

The April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* contains a study, by A. P. Nasatir, of the Anglo-Spanish Frontier on the Upper Mississippi, 1786-1796, and an account of Pioneer Life in Jones County, by O. J. Felton, of Cedar Rapids.

In the March number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Herman J. Deutsch discourses upon Yankee-Teuton Rivalry in Wisconsin Politics of the Seventies. In an article entitled Up and Down the Chippewa River, R. K. Boyd writes of water craft, logging, etc., and Dr. Joseph Schafer comments upon Washburniana and introduces us to the notable group of Washburn brothers.

The principal article in the March number of *Minnesota History* is the Persistence of Populism, by John D. Hicks. There is also a reprint of the part of the *Diary* of C. N. Brainerd (New York, 1868) which pertains to Minnesota.

The *Nebraska History Magazine* for April-June (1930, "printed March, 1931") contains an article on Charles H. Van Wyck, Soldier and Statesman, by Marie U. Harmer and James L. Sellers, with an introduction by Addison E. Sheldon; an account of the Founding of Fort Hartsuff, by Cora P. Mullin; and some Recollections of a Fort Hartsuff Pioneer, by Ora A. Clement. Other articles on the history of the fort are to appear in later issues.

The March number of the *Colorado Magazine* contains a paper by LeRoy R. Hafen on the Counties of Colorado: a History of their Creation and the Origin of their Names. In the May number is a History of Fort Lewis, Colorado, by Mary C. Ayres, and an account of the Second Colorado Cavalry in the Civil War, by Blanche V. Adams.

The *Culver-Stockton Quarterly* devotes the entire January number (pp. 38) to a study by Harold E. Briggs regarding the Development of Agriculture in Territorial Dakota. Although gardens and small fields around trading posts were cultivated in fur trading days, farming in the territory began about 1860, and the author traces its history through thirty years of development to gigantic proportions, in which grasshoppers, agricultural machinery, labor, railroads, and politics play their several parts.

The principal article in the April number of the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* is an account of Catholic Missions and Missionaries among the Indians of Dakota (about 1818 to 1874).

Dr. Doane Robinson's *History of South Dakota*, published in 1903, has been rewritten and brought down to date, forming vol. I. of *The History of South Dakota* (Chicago, American Historical Society, 1930, 3 vols.). The other two volumes include biographical sketches of South Dakotans.

The April number of the *New Mexico Historical Review* contains Padre Luis Velarde's *Relación* of Pimería Alta, 1716, in English translation, edited by Dr. Rufus K. Wyllys; also, the record of a campaign against the Moqui Pueblos under Governor Phelix Martinez in 1716. The latter is an annotated translation by the late Colonel Ralph E. Twitchell, which has been edited for the *Review* by Lansing B. Bloom.

In the March number of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Loren H. Brown writes on the Dawes Commission, created in 1893; Joseph B. Thoburn, on Ancient Irrigation Ditches on the Plains; Muriel H. Wright, on Historic Spots in the Vicinity of Tuskahoma; and Mrs. Andrew R. Hickam contributes a brief history of the state flag of Oklahoma.

Among the articles in the March number of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* are: Sir James Douglas's Diary of his expeditions, 1840-1841, with introduction and notes by Herman A. Leader (to be continued); British Values in Oregon, 1847, by T. C. Elliott; part I. of a history of Ashland Normal School, 1869-1930, by William P. Tucker; and Early Education in Oregon, by J. F. Santee.

The California State Historical Association has published *The Humbolt Bay Region, 1850-1875: a Study in the American Colonization of California*, by Owen C. Coy, professor of California history in the University of Southern California (Los Angeles, 1929, pp. xii, 346). The region which Professor Coy describes differs from many other sections of California in that it had not been occupied by the Spanish. The beginnings of settlement go back only to the gold rush, when Humbolt Bay would serve as a natural outlet for the northern mines. Professor Coy's work is based not only on printed material but on the local archives preserved at Eureka.

The *Washington Historical Quarterly* prints in the April issue a paper by the late Major W. V. Rineheart, entitled War in the Great Northwest, principally reminiscences of the Civil War. An article by Lionel H. Laing, entitled A Family-Company-Compact, deals with the relationship between the Hudson's Bay Company and the early administration of Vancouver Island. A description of an Old Unknown Map of America, the first to show the future Bering Strait (attributed to Gastaldi, 1763 or 1764), is by Henri Vignaud, translated by Edward W. Allen.

In the thirty-ninth *Annual Report* of the Hawaiian Historical Society, for the year 1930, Harold W. Bradley, of Stanford University, presents a paper on Thomas ap Catesby Jones and the Hawaiian Islands, 1826-1827; Professor Ralph S. Kuykendall, of the University of Hawaii, discusses American Interests and American Influence in Hawaii in 1842; and John F. G. Stokes explains the Origin and Condemnation of Captain Cook in Hawaii: a Study in Cause and Effect. Mr. Stokes traces the rise of the condemnatory sentiment toward Captain Cook and places the

responsibility upon the curiously distorted and false history put forth by the Rev. Sheldon Dibble in 1838.

*Occasional Papers*, no. 12, of the University of Hawaii, is a study of the Constitution of the Hawaiian Republic, by Thomas Marshall Spaulding.

#### CANADA

The *Report* of the Public Archives of the Dominion of Canada for the year 1930, by Arthur G. Doughty, keeper of public records, contains chiefly a Calendar of State Papers, addressed by the Secretaries of State for the Colonies to the Governors General or Officers administering the Province of Lower Canada, from 1787 until 1841. This is series G of the Public Archives. There are also lists of accessions in the manuscript and map divisions.

In the *Canadian Historical Review* for March there is an important contribution on the Periodical Literature of Upper Canada. The writer, W. S. Wallace, explains that it is a by-product of an effort undertaken by the staff of the library of the University of Toronto to compile a catalogue of books and pamphlets printed in Ontario similar to the *Inventaire Chronologique des Livres publiés dans la Province de Québec*. It was discovered that nearly all the books printed in Ontario prior to 1841 emanated from newspaper presses, and this suggested the need of more complete information about them and about the periodicals they printed. To the article is appended a check-list of Upper Canada Periodicals, 1793-1840. Professor Paul Knaplund has edited for the same number *Some Letters of Peel and Stanley on Canadian Problems*.

The historical student will find in vol. II., 1929, *Contributions to Canadian Economics* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1930, pp. 144), two studies of special interest, both by Mr. Harold A. Innis: *The Teaching of Economic History in Canada*, and a *Bibliography of Recent Publications in Canadian Economics*. The volume belongs to the *University of Toronto Studies in History and Economics*.

Dr. J. Clarence Webster is the author of an account (privately printed) of *Charles des Champs de Boishébert*, who was born in Quebec in 1727, and who, when only nineteen, began to fight for the recovery of Louisburg and Acadia. After the fall of French Canada, he spent the rest of his life on a family estate in Normandy.

#### CUBA, MEXICO, AND SOUTH AMERICA

The leading articles in the *Hispanic American Historical Review* for May are: *The Rise of the Brazilian Aristocracy*, by Alan K. Manchester; *The Abolition of the African Slave Trade to Brazil*, by Lawrence F. Hill; and *The First American Mint*, by Arthur S. Aiton and Benjamin W. Wheeler.

Among recent publications of the *Academia de la Historia de Cuba* are the two following biographical studies: *Obras del Dr. Ignacio José*



de Urrutia y Montaya, in 2 vols.; and Joaquín Infante (Havana, Imprenta del Siglo XX., 1931).

No. 34 of the *Archivo Histórico Diplomático Mexicano* is entitled *Las Relaciones Diplomáticas entre México y Holanda* (Mexico, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1931).

Dr. Manuel Saavedra Galinda has published a volume entitled *El Libertador: Conmemoración en el Primer Centenario de su Muerte* (Bogotá, Imprenta Nacional, 1931).

No. 19 of the *Monografías Bibliográficas Mexicanas*, by Jesús Guzmán y Raz Guzmán, is volume II. of the *Bibliografía de la Reforma: la Intervención y el Imperio* (Mexico, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1931).

No. 30 of the *Boletín de la Biblioteca Nacional* of Venezuela dedicated to Simón Bolívar reprints some interesting documents concerning him.

The government of Venezuela has undertaken to publish the multitudinous papers of General Francisco de Miranda in sixty-three volumes which it recently purchased from Lord Bathurst. Under the title *Archivo del General Miranda*, six volumes of that collection have been published. The manuscripts are being edited by a committee headed by Vicente Dávila (Caracas, Editorial Sur-América, 1929-1930).

The first volume of a *Guía General de Venezuela*, by F. Benet, has been published (Caracas, 1929).

A useful survey of the controversy over the provinces of Tacna and Arica that brings the topic up to 1929 (with maps and a documentary appendix) is found in a volume by W. J. Dennis, *Tacna and Arica* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1931).  
W. S. R.

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Contributions to the section of Historical News have been made by G. C. Boyce, T. R. S. Broughton, E. C. Burnett, E. N. Curtis, J. F. Jameson, L. M. Larson, D. C. Munro, J. W. Oliver, and W. S. Robertson.

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